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BIBLIOGRAPHICA

PAPERS ON BOOKS

THEIR HISTORY AND ART

VOL. I

PARTS I—IV

BIBLIO-GRAPHICA

VOLUME I

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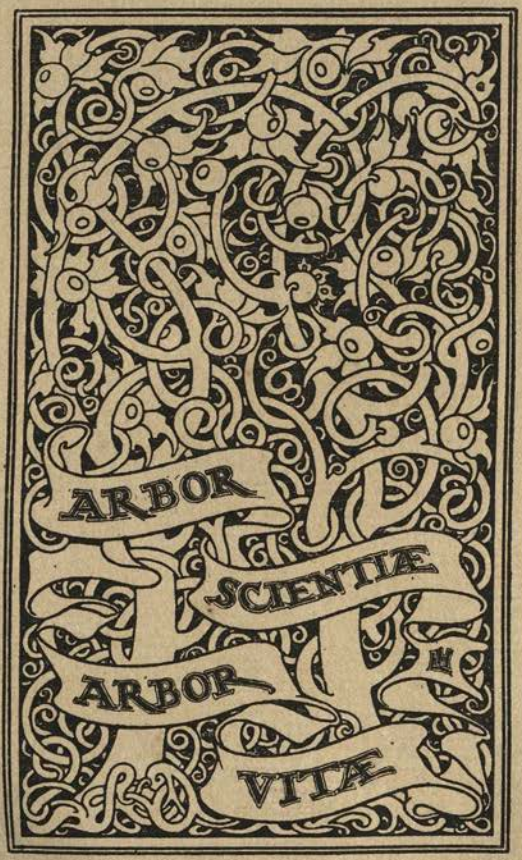

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A COPY OF CELSUS FROM THE LIBRARY OF GROLIER

AMONG the many beautiful and remarkable bindings exhibited in the show-cases of the library of our National Museum there are few which possess greater interest than the fine and noteworthy early Italian example, of which a representation forms the frontispiece of this number. The work which it encloses is a copy of Celsus' *De Medicina*, printed by Filippo Pinzi at Venice in 1497, and the book was once the property of Grolier, who has written on the lining of the lower cover the inscription: *Est mei jo. grolier lugd. & amicorum;* a wording of his liberal and well-known motto which varies somewhat from any of the twelve other different forms of it known to have been used by him in the interior of his volumes. The binding, which is contemporary with the book, and, as far as the observation of the writer of this article extends, unique with regard to the special method of its decoration, consists of dark olive brown morocco, having in the centre of

the upper cover an embossed medallion representing Curtius leaping into the abyss in the Forum at Rome, and on the lower cover a similar medallion of Horatius Cocles defending the Sublician bridge against the Etruscan army under Lars Porsena. In this latter the artist appears to have followed the account of Polybius, who states that Horatius held the bridge without assistance, and perished in the Tiber. It will also be noticed that the material of the bridge is stone and not wood, and that the building in the background has a striking resemblance to the Castle of St. Angelo.

Each medallion is surrounded with a green margin, and this is enclosed by a triple border of blind tooling, extending to the edge of the cover; the intervening space being filled by very elegant ornamental work of a corded pattern, impressed in blind and painted blue, in which rings washed with gold are introduced, and which is also interspersed with gold and red roundlets. The gold roundlets, which also occur in the inner border and at the corners of the covers, are formed of thin plates of that metal in a manner peculiar to this binding, which is a very early and fine specimen of the art of gold tooling, introduced a little before this time into Italy from the East. The material of the cameos, which are gilt and painted, consists of vellum, pressed in a damp state upon the die; some composition having been used to fill up the cavities and preserve the shape of the figures. The moulds from which these medallions were made were cut for the purpose of casting plaques for the ornamentation of sword panels; and a bronze plaque representing Curtius leaping into the abyss, evidently produced from the same matrix as the medallion on this binding, is exhibited in the department of

British and Mediæval Antiquities and Ethnology in the British Museum. A similar one of Horatius defending the bridge is preserved in the Museum at Berlin.

These plaques were designed and executed by Giovanni, called Giovanni delle Corniole, who was born at Pisa about 1470, but who resided during the greater part of his life at Florence, where he is believed to have died in 1516. He was the son of Lorenzo, and grandson of Pietro, members of a family termed Delle Opere, because some individuals of it were manufacturers of silk fabrics brocaded with ornamental designs and figures (*seta ad opera*).

We read in Vasari's *Lives of Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, that 'Lorenzo de' Medici took much pleasure in the engravings of antique cameos; and between himself and his son Piero, a large number were collected, more particularly, chalcedonies, carnelians, and other stones of value, beautifully cut, and exhibiting a great variety of fanciful objects. They then resolved to attempt the establishment of this art in their city, and to that end they invited masters from divers countries, when these men not only restored the stones which Lorenzo or Piero then possessed, but executed many other beautiful works of the kind at that time and in that city. With these masters Lorenzo the Magnificent placed a young Florentine, to the end that he might acquire the art of engraving, in Cavo, who afterwards received the name of Giovanni of the Carnelians, for the admirable manner in which he cut these stones. Of his excellence in this vocation we have ample testimony in the various works, small and great, by his hand, which are still to be seen, but more particularly from a

large one wherein he carved the portrait of Girolamo Savonarola, who in his time was adored in Florence for the sermons which he preached there. This indeed is a most extraordinary work.' (Vasari, *Lives of Painters, etc.* Translated by Mrs. J. Foster, vol. iii. p. 468.)

The portrait of Savonarola here alluded to is now preserved in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence. It is universally admired, and the eminent engraver of gems, Johann Anton Pikler, considered it not unworthy of being classed with the productions of the great Greek masters. A very fine medallion in bronze of Savonarola is also attributed to Giovanni delle Corniole, from its resemblance to this master-piece. Giovanni delle Corniole was a sculptor, and a worker in the precious metals as well as an engraver of gems, but it was his excellence in this last art, which not only placed him in the front rank of those artists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, who so successfully imitated the Greek and Roman craftsmen of antiquity, but obtained for him the esteem and patronage of the great collectors of his time, especially Lorenzo de' Medici, for whom his most beautiful works were executed. The number of plaques designed by Giovanni delle Corniole is very considerable. Twenty-five are described by Molinier in his *Catalogue des Plaquettes*, published at Paris in 1886. Among the principal may be mentioned, The Entombment of Christ, Ariadne in the Isle of Naxos, The Judgment of Paris, Vulcan forging the arms of Achilles, The Sacrifice of Iphigenia, Æneas crossing the Styx, Mutius Scævola before Porsena, A Roman Triumph, and the two adorning the binding which forms the subject of this article. The works of Giovanni delle Corniole are easily identified, as

they generally bear the initials IO. (Joannes) IO. F. (Joannes fecit), or IO. F.F. (Joannes Florentinus fecit). These letters, however, have caused some writers to erroneously attribute these plaques to Giacomo Raibolini Francia, son of the celebrated painter Francesco Raibolini, called Francia.

Plate I. shows the upper cover of the binding diminished, the original measuring 12½ in. by 8¼. The plaques in Plate II. are of the full size.

W. Y. FLETCHER.

CHRISTINA OF SWEDEN AND HER BOOKS.

EVERY one who has spent a few days in Rome will have a pleasant recollection of the market in the Campo di Fiori, when the peasants are supposed to bring in from the Campagna all the antiquities discovered during the week. One who knows the place may now and then actually come upon a fragment of the past: and at any rate we can join a laughing crowd laden with brass-work and tin-work, and ragged

copes or memorial spoons; or we can watch the virtuoso's choice among ivories and bronzes, and spurious coins, and gems which it would be flattery to compare with the meanest Cinque-cento forgery. As we dive into the barrows wheeled to market from the Ripetta and the Via di Tordinona, we come every now and then on a certain gem or cameo, showing a lady with an aquiline profile, and her hair thrown back under a ribbon; and if we ask her name we learn that it is the face of a great Amazonian Queen, 'la Regina Cristina,' who came long ago from the North and set up a court in Rome.

The memory of the Queen of Sweden, the heiress of Gustavus Adolphus, remains fresh in her adopted country. Named 'Christina' by the 'Protestant Hero,' they used to say, she became 'Christiana' at St. Peter's, and might have been even 'Christianissima' if she had happened to marry young Louis, the most Christian King.

Her rough Swedes were glad to let her go; they were but a pack of 'leaden-skulls,' as Professor Boeclerus called the students at Upsala, who whipped him like a school-boy for his pains; the sons of Vikings and Berserks cared little for a Queen of pen and ink, or a Parchment-in-petticoats. She admitted the misfortune of being born of the wrong sex. If she had been another Gustavus, she said, she could have drunk and ruffled with the best; as it was, she ruled as Empress of the Books and Commander-in-chief of the Professors, 'because,' to use a phrase of her own, she was only 'a woman like a man.' The world admired the girl who had contrived the Peace of Westphalia, and had posed as the Arbiter of Europe. Men laughed at her courage in handing over the three crowns of the Swedes and Goths and Vandals as

a present 'from Heaven and Christina,' at her abandonment of the faith and policy by which her country's glory was secured, at her claiming as 'Alexandra' to take that place among the learned which the greatest of heroes had seized in war. The ancients had spoken of a Northern Apollo, to whom the Hyperboreans prayed: and now he was eclipsed by a new Minerva, an Arctic Pallas, swooping down from behind the North Wind to take the first place upon Olympus. The Pontiff at Rome shook his head when he heard of wild doings on the way, and ended by saying, like every one else: 'But, after all, she is the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus.' Nearly two and a half centuries have passed since Christina entered the Porta Pertusa with a long cavalcade of books and manuscripts behind her coach, and still the Romans of almost every quarter are continually reminded of her life in their city. If we cross to the suburb beyond the Tiber and mount the slopes of the Janiculum, we come to a gate by the roadside, above San Pietro in Montorio, and close to the marble basins where the Acqua Paola splashes and shines. This is the entrance to the Villa Corsini, now a public garden and once Queen Christina's domain: and here, through gaps between trees and statues, we look out at the panorama of Rome, a multitude of churches, sharp outlines of cypresses and palms, and the mountains in a long curve from Soracte to the ridge above Alba. Under our feet by the river stands the palace where the Queen lived among her books, a huge, rambling building, with yellow colonnades, which has lately been purchased by the Government, and is used as an Academy of Arts. To reach the front we must retrace our route to the neighbourhood of St.

Cecilia's Church, and so through the rough Porta Settimiana along the right bank of the Tiber; or we may descend the hill not far from the Piazza of St. Peter's, and so reach the palace from the opposite direction. We pass through a double court with pillars on all sides but one, the view of the hanging gardens being skilfully shown through the opening. We take as our guide the clever description of the *Idle Woman in Italy*: 'the great staircase divides mystically: it mounts to the upper story with a noble effect, and here is a fine hall leading to an immense gallery, of at least ten large rooms filled with pictures.'

What strikes the visitor is the dignity of the broad travertine stairs: the galleries seem to be rather tawdry, and filled with doubtful paintings. 'The Corsini family,' we are told, 'always revelled in Carlo Dolci': we are shown a fine 'dewy' example: but, on the whole, we must agree with our trusty guide, that 'it is not an interesting collection,' with too much enamelled Carlo Dolci and *maniéré* Carlo Maratta, 'with his wife's face turned always the same way.'

We are much more attracted by the Library, a long room with a vaulted ceiling, where the Queen's books rested for a time before passing to their home in the Vatican; and there is one little ugly room, covered with faded paint, and hung with a few poor pictures, which is really what we most care to see: for here Queen Christina died at the age of sixty-three, with her affairs in great confusion, her annuity from the Vatican sadly in arrear, and even her books under a mortgage.

In tracing the beginning of the famous library, we shall find more help in the short history by Catteau-Calleville than in the ponderous quartos of

Arckenholtz. It appears that there had been a few books at Stockholm ever since the great revival of learning. Gustavus Vasa had increased the palace-library when he began to invite learned foreigners to lecture in the University at Upsala. Gustavus Adolphus used his opportunities of collecting the spoils of literature during the ravages of the Thirty Years' War: and we may recollect how our own Bodleian Library was enriched in the same way by Archbishop Laud, whose agents were always ready to buy up early manuscripts when a German city was taken by storm.

Shortly before the close of his life, the King of Sweden added largely to his collection at Stockholm, hoping, no doubt, that this might help in the education of the child on whom the burden of the dynasty was to descend. When Christina, at the age of eighteen, was called to the full powers of government, she threw herself with zeal into the task of forming a library which should astonish the world. She got together, in the first place, the books which her generals had brought home from the sack of Prague, from Olmütz, and many another devastated place of learning; and, in the next place, she engaged the most learned of the Dutch bibliophiles to collect books, and especially unpublished manuscripts, in the Low Countries, in France and Germany, and in every quarter of Italy. The Italians especially complained, as Ranke tells us, that 'ships were laden with the spoils of their libraries,' and that all the appliances of learning were being carried away to the Arctic regions. Her best known agents were Isaac Vossius and Nicholas Heinsius, men of almost equal distinction in literature, though very different in personal character. Vossius helped her in acquiring a great number of

his father's books, as well as the Oriental manuscripts collected by Gilbert Gaulmin, and valued at 20,000 crowns. It has been said, however, that when the Queen left Sweden, her faithless agent helped himself to some of her best specimens, while rearranging her collection at Antwerp. So at least declared a literary rival a few years afterwards. 'Vossius,' said Boeclerus in 1664, 'took a great plunder out of Christina's library'; but it may be that the books were only lost by careless packing in the hurry and haste of her departure. We shall deal with a more pleasing topic in making an extract from one of the Queen's letters to Heinsius. 'I must thank you for the pains and industry shown in my service, and I shall not miss any occasion of showing the results of my gratitude. They will be such that you will never have to regret your trouble: benefits and recompenses truly worthy of myself and my gratitude.' When we think of the splendid chains and jewels which she had lavished on her literary visitors, it is sad to find that in 1652, two years before her abdication, she was forced to pay her dear Heinsius in vain promises which were never redeemed; but the finances of Sweden were at that time in a very critical condition, and the whole future of the country must have looked very dubious to a lady who cared for nothing but a very leading part. We must resume the interrupted letter to Heinsius. 'Send me,' says Christina, 'the catalogues of the books which you bought or had copied, and an account of your personal expenses, and of what you have laid out in purchases. I cannot tell you more than that, while I rely on your discretion absolutely, I do not want you to leave Italy without having paid a visit to Sicily. Be careful to notice who are

working at verse or prose in my honour, so that I may be punctually told in time to give them a reward. You know how curious I am, so you must take pains to satisfy my curiosity in the matter of medals. Continue to send me lists of all that is beautiful and rare; but do not embark in any purchase: as long as I know of the rarities, I will manage the rest.'

We may say at once that Christina was completely successful in her plan of creating a splendid library. 'This precious collection,' writes the biographer, 'was arranged in four great halls, in which besides a multitude of printed books, were at least eight thousand manuscripts in Latin, Greek, Arabic, and Hebrew.' We are told of disputes among Oriental scholars which were settled by reference to the Biblical manuscripts at Stockholm. The precious *Codex Argenteus*, containing part of the Gospels in the Mœso-Gothic version of Ulfilas, was one of the greatest treasures of the State; and we must allow the Queen a generous nature and a warm heart when we find that she gave it to Count Magnus de la Gardie during his time of favour, and refrained from taking it back when 'le pauvre Conte' fell into disgrace. A story told by the credulous Dom Calmet is evidence at least of the fame which her books had attained. A certain great scholar of Dijon, whose name by the way was never disclosed, had fatigued himself during a long day with a hopelessly corrupt Greek text: ten lines of a certain chorus were utterly without sense as they stood, and the scholar went to bed despairing of all human assistance. During the night, says Dom Calmet, he was carried in the spirit to Stockholm, and there on a shelf, in Queen Christina's library, stood a little manuscript, which he took

down and opened, and found, as the reader expects, the ten lines of the text quite intelligible, and in all their pristine purity. Next day he determined to follow up his adventure as far as possible, and wrote off to Descartes, who had just gone to Stockholm to teach the Queen philosophy. We may add that this serves to bring the date of the story within very narrow limits; for Descartes is known to have arrived in Sweden about the end of October, 1649, and to have died of the climate in the following February. 'Your plan of Stockholm and the royal palace is perfect,' Descartes wrote back to his friend: 'the sketch of the library is quite correct, and I have found the book on the shelf, and have read the lines quoted by you.' The writer himself must have wished that he had never seen the library. The Queen was determined to be his disciple, hoping to find a new religion in 'the world of Descartes': but she had so many engagements, councils, receptions, drives, concerts, and affairs of State, that she could only give him a sitting for an hour at 5 A.M. on the winter mornings, in the palace perched high above Lake Mælar, and exposed to all the blasts of the North. Here she received her lessons: 'I think, I doubt, I exist, Thou art, He is, and We are,' and so on through the proofs of our being; and here the poor teacher caught his *fluxion de poitrine*, which was declared by some to be a dose of poison, and by others to be jaundice caused by rage at not being understood by the Queen. The worst part of all his trials must have been her patronising remark that she admired his talent and character, but could not accept his metaphysics.

We ought to go back two or three years to mark some of the most important accessions to the library. In the year 1646, when Christina was a

girl of twenty, we find her writing to Madame Grotius, the widow of the famous Jurist. She thanks her Dutch friend for giving her ambassador a preference in the purchase of the law-books: 'I declare that while I always feel a pleasure in reading good authors, I am so much in love with the writings of Grotius that I shall never be happy if I give up the hope of placing them all in my library. My ambassador can never have explained in full how dear his memory is to me, and how strong the impression of his labours. If gold or silver could have helped, there is nothing that I would not have given with all my heart in such a cause. Judge, then, if you could place these dear relics and memorials in hands where they would be better treated than in mine; and since their author's life was of such benefit, suffer not his death to deprive me entirely of these fruits of his illustrious labours. I understand that, with the books written by others, you will put into my hands his own manuscript Memoirs and Notes, as you promised indeed in your letter. You will never be able to show your goodwill better, and I thank God I have the wherewithal to meet it with a reward which my ambassador will more particularly explain.' We find the Queen soon afterwards engaged in a correspondence with Bochart, who had already published his Sacred Geography and was pressed by Christina to bring out that work on the Animals of the Bible for which his name is still remembered. 'It was through M. Vossius,' she writes, 'that your learned and distinguished writings came into my hands: it would be with the greatest satisfaction that I should count you among my personal friends.' In 1652 she writes again, to greet him on his arrival in Sweden. She promises him her perpetual esteem,

and reassures him about the disgrace which had fallen on Vossius. It was no flightiness on her part, but all the librarian's own fault; and, after all, the good man was only to be sent to England and Spain to look for more literary treasures. 'Come then without fear, and believe that there is no one who will esteem your merits more justly than Christina.'

The venerable Bochart entered the Paradise of Books and was transformed by some fairy spell: for we hear of him next throwing off his long Calvinist cloak to fly a kite with the Queen, as if he had been a knight of her festive Order of the Amaranth. Christina was always ready for a frolic. Minerva threw down her Greek folio and went off for a long day's hunting. The Muse took off her laurel wreath, and danced after supper in the Ballet. Christina was a good musician, and wrote some of the songs for Tricario's opera of *Endimione*, played in 1665 at Ferrara. It is said that when she went to the Play she was in the habit of joining in at the top of her voice when the band played a favourite tune. Every one knows how she got Professor Meibomius to give the Court a sample of the music of the ancients. Gabriel Naudé was at that time her librarian, mourning in a sad northern exile the fall of his master the Cardinal, and the ruin of his 'fair daughter,' the *Bibliothèque Mazarine*. Naudé knew every step of the Athenian dances and the swaying hand-in-hand circles of the villagers on the meadows of Eurotas. Meibomius sang the chorus, and Naudé pranced to the tune: the Queen laughed and the Courtiers cheered, and Dr. Bourdelot, the favourite, held his sides, till Meibomius fetched him a box on the ear, and all the amusement was over.

Christina would read Tacitus in the morning,

and found him 'as interesting as a game of chess': Plato served in the afternoon to impart nobility to the sentiments, and then came the picnics and charades. 'She laughs and speaks, and has a colour in her cheeks.' She is like Queen Iseult with the fantasies that her ladies scorned. 'Her moods, Good lack! they pass like showers'; it seemed as if she would do anything to be noticed and admired. She tells Heinsius how she longed to correspond with the Cavalier del Pozzo or any other persons of merit: 'I shall be delighted to cultivate their friendship, if they will only give me a sign.' We may see on many of her medals the word 'Makelos,' in Greek or Latin letters. The phrase became a sore puzzle to the Italian *virtuosi*; but in Swedish it meant 'mateless' and 'matchless.' The double meaning made it useful as a motto for the maiden who was also the untamed Queen, the 'Unique,' the 'Einzige,' and 'the inexpressive She,' as when the moon shines unmatched among the stars, or as in Heaven unmated 'comes after darkness Dawn.'

A procession of authors, wondrously bewigged, passed incessantly before her throne. We recognise some of the greatest of men, and we feel that we must be also in the presence of some of the meanest parasites of literature. Pascal himself forwarded for Christina's inspection a model of his calculating machine. The Queen must have felt, in reading his glowing sentences, that at last she was really understood; her humble efforts had been appreciated in the loftiest plane of intellect, and her steps were to be guided by the light that had been a beacon for mankind. 'Reign thou,' said Pascal, 'most incomparable Queen, in a way hitherto unknown, and let your genius lay at your feet

whatever has not submitted to your sword! Reign for long years by right of birth over those glorious realms; but reign also by the force of your merit over all the remainder of the earth! As for me, I was not born under the first of your Empires, but I wish the whole world to know that I glory to live under your latter sway; and it is to prove this, that I venture to raise my eyes before my Queen as I offer to her this first proof of my subjection.'

The great mathematician Gassendi offered homage in a similar strain, but Christina wrote a humble reply to beg instruction from time to time from one whom she regarded as the Oracle of Truth. Balzac sent a copy of his own works, with a pompous compliment, for which he received a gold chain. He declared, in his letter of thanks, that he envied not Claudian his statue, nor Petrarch his laureate's crown: 'I pray God to preserve your Majesty for the happiness of your people and the honour of the age, and to serve as an example to all other reigning Princes.' When the poet died, his posthumous works were published by Ménage with a dedication to the Queen of Sweden; and he in his turn obtained a heavy chain of gold, and established a friendship with the 'Northern Minerva.'

M. Catteau-Calleville has preserved a long list of the aspirants whom the Queen delighted to honour. Ferrario of Padua drew the character of a perfect Princess, and received a letter in Latin enclosing a chain worth a thousand gold crowns. The French Councillor Sarvau, and two brothers Adrien and Henri Valois, obtained the gold medal with the head of Pallas and the blazing sun. Other rewards were showered on the strangers who flocked to Stockholm from every quarter, the

learned Gronovius from Holland, the Rabbi Manasseh Ben Israel from Lisbon, the Abyssinian who represented the power of the African Akalaxtus, a successor of Prester John. There were one or two curious cases of independence, or affected freedom from the prevailing fever of adulation. Old Scarron, for example, writes with a certain humorous bluffness. Mæcenas, he said, in the age of Augustus, exacted a tribute of verse and prose: 'but he only has the advantage of your Majesty in point of date, and I would wager my little property on Parnassus that you would have taken away all his customers, and have made him as wild as the great Gustavus would have done with his master, if they had been disputing for the empire of the world.'

Georges Scudéry set up as the rival of Corneille on the strength of his bombast and rodomontade. He was just finishing the tragedy of *Alaric*, in which he had sung the praise of La Gardie, who was then falling out of Christina's favour. It is said that she offered a chain worth a thousand *pistoles*, if he would cut out the references to the minister and dedicate the poem to herself. The dedication certainly appeared in due form; but as to the rest, the tragedian vowed that he would not overturn an altar at which he had sacrificed, even for the great golden chain that adorned the palace of Montezuma.

Another example may perhaps be found in Rudbeck's conduct with regard to the dedication of his *Atlantica*; but it must be remembered that his work appeared in print some years after the Queen had settled in Italy. Olaus Rudbeck was one of the learned Swedes who discovered that their country, without the fact being generally known, had always been in the van of human

progress. He was honoured for many years by Christina's friendship, and the Queen had always delighted in witnessing his studies in dissection and illustrations of his great discovery about the lymphatic and lacteal ducts. The best description of his *Atlantica* is to be found in the pages of Gibbon. The historian is describing the learned dunces who traced all the tribes of Japhet into the Northern Hive. 'The most entertaining was Olaus Rudbeck: whatever is celebrated either in history or fable this zealous patriot ascribes to his country. Of that delightful region, for such it appeared to the eyes of a native, the Atlantis of Plato, the country of the Hyperboreans, the Fortunate Islands, and even the Elysian Fields, were all but faint and imperfect transcripts.' We cannot refrain from quoting a sentence from a letter written by Christina to Benserade, who had expected to be sent to Stockholm as the French Ambassador. 'You ought to bless your good fortune for escaping a visit to Sweden.' (This was written in 1653 when the Queen was about to abdicate.) 'Your delicate wit would have caught a chill, and you would have gone back with a most *spirituel* bad cold. How they would have liked you in Paris, with a square beard and a Lapp coat and shoes, on your way home from the land of frost. What would you have seen in Sweden? Our ice is like yours, except that it lasts a month longer; and our summer, when it bursts out, is so violent that it is a terror to the poor flowers that pretend to be like your jasmine.' 'Your poetry,' she adds, 'is infinitely admired, and the person to whom you have sent it is much obliged; pray go on with the transaction, and let her take a share in the produce of your mind.'

Returning to Rudbeck, and his proposal to dedicate one of his volumes to the Queen, we find her writing with considerable vigour to her intendant, M. Olivecrantz. It may be observed that the female Alexander was quite strong enough to be superior to all ordinary rules of spelling. The letter was published by Mr. Klemming in 1863, in his appendix to Rudbeck's work. 'Mr. Oliwe-Crantz,' she begins, *'J'aurois reçeu avec Joye les Attlentiques, Si Rubeckius m'en eust dedié le premier Tome'*: 'I should have accepted it with joy if he had dedicated the first volume to me, but the idea of presenting me with the second is not fair. Even if the first were addressed to the Emperor of the world, the second ought not, and must not, be dedicated to me: so you may tell him on my part that I beg him to reserve me some other work, which will be very well received. I am sorry that the idea did not occur to him about his first volume, because this excellent book ought in justice to belong to me. As for the epithet of the "Hyperborean Pallas," he does me too much honour; but let him remember that Pallas could sew beautifully, and perhaps knew how to cut out as well, and that I am so clumsy that I cannot do one or the other. With this exception I believe we resemble each other pretty well, etc., *Christina Allessandra.*'

Christina abdicated in favour of her cousin Charles Gustavus on the 11th of June 1654. She was then twenty-eight years of age, having reigned for ten years since the Senate had decreed her majority. The details of the ceremony are unimportant; but there is something pleasant about the closing scene, when the Queen put off her royal raiment, and appeared in a white taffeta gown, making her formal adieu to the principal Orders in the State, and

shaking hands heartily with the humble representative of the peasantry. One of her last acts of sovereignty had been to issue a medal, with a Pegasus on the summit of Olympus, and an inscription to the effect that 'this place is better than a throne.' Almost immediately after the ceremony she left Stockholm for Brussels, where, during a visit to the Archduke Leopold, she joined the Roman Catholic Church; 'but still,' she wrote to her beloved Ebba Sparre, 'I don't listen to sermons or speeches, for Solomon says that all is vanity, except eating and drinking and singing.' No one, we suppose, will ever know the exact reasons for the change. The old Chancellor, Oxenstiern, was puzzled. 'But after all,' he said, 'she is the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus.' When she was reading a book by one Campuzano, containing an extract about her conversion, she wrote in the margin, 'He who has written it knows nothing, and she who knows it has written nothing.' '*Chi la scritta nò la sa, è chi la sa nò l'ha mai scritta.*' People said that she was like a wild thing let out of a cage; but on hearing of the death of her mother, with whom she had never been on good terms, she retired for some time into the country, and did not resume her whirl of dissipation.

She now proceeded upon her long-desired visit to Rome, travelling with about two hundred attendants, and carrying all her books in her train. At Frankfort she met Charles the Second of England, and warmly congratulated him on his exile and the loss of his throne. At her hotel in Augsburg, they say, she burst into tears at seeing the table where Gustavus Adolphus had dined. At Innspruck she was publicly received into the Church; and soon afterwards she passed on a long triumph through

the Papal States, and met the Cardinals and Legates, with a train of coaches and an escort of Swiss Guards, about nine miles from Rome. The Cardinals in attendance assured her that the entry was to be strictly private, but when she drove through the Porta Pertusa, as a strange visitor or 'Lady unknown,' she found that all the streets were lighted up and filled with a roaring crowd. 'If this is the Incognito reception,' she said, 'I shall be glad to see the public entry!' On being conducted to the Vatican, a tedious course of ceremonies began. The Pope gives his blessing and the Queen mounts the throne. The Queen retires and is introduced again to the Pope. More bows and blessings follow, and at last the introduction is complete. It is indeed 'very tolerable, and not to be borne,' and, being done, she snatches the least possible rest, and demands to be taken into the Library of the Vatican, where her own precious books in a few years' time were to be stored. A few days were spent in visits and concerts; and after this the Queen at last made her public entry. This time, says M. Calleville, she rode under the Porta del Popolo, dressed like a Queen of Amazons, and riding her white charger astride like a man. All the troops were under arms, every street had its arch of triumph; the guns pealed and trumpets blared, till on reaching St. Peter's the illustrious convert was received in the Pope's Chapel, after a prayer before the High Altar, and was confirmed in due form, being allowed to take and use thenceforth her cherished title of 'Alexandra.' Christina soon became a favourite at Rome, though she somewhat astonished the citizens by bursting out laughing in Church and talking out loud to the Cardinals. She took great pains to learn up the

antiquities, and adopted a very different attitude towards Art, from that which had once prevailed at Stockholm, where, it was ill-naturedly said, the paintings of Correggio had been found most useful as screens in the stables. 'O la bella cosa!' she cried, when she saw Bernini's figure of Truth! 'I am glad,' said a Cardinal, according to an anecdote in the biography, 'that your Majesty should have a love for Truth which persons of your rank rarely feel!' 'Ah! but,' replied the Queen, 'that is because all Truths are not cut out in white marble.'

M. Calleville describes her home in the Palazzo Farnese as a sanctuary of Art and Letters. It was not long indeed, before she established an Academy of her own, in which lectures and conversazione alternated with concerts conducted by the best musicians. Some of her gay parties are described in manuscripts remaining unpublished at the Vatican, in which we find excellent sketches of her orchestra, and the fine costumes when the ladies were invited. But before making extracts on that point we must take one look at that tragical-comical visit to France which had been for so many years Christina's dream and desire.

When the Queen was at Fontainebleau in the winter of 1657, she had occasion to suspect the good faith of one of her principal courtiers. The Marquis de Monaldeschi, as Master of the Horse, filled one of her great offices of State; the white wand of the Grand Chamberlain was held by the Comte de Sentinelli; and between these high officials there raged a furious jealousy. Christina took part in their quarrels, and was assured by the Count of the dark designs of the Marquis, and by the Marquis of the treason intended by the Count. The daughter of Gustavus had forgotten that she was

only a paper autocrat, a Queen of the *Opéra Bouffe*, and she prepared a scathing phrase for the Marquis in the style of 'So much for Buckingham!' 'What should one do to a traitor of this kind?' she asked, with a pretence of describing the Grand Chamberlain. 'Your Majesty,' replied the Master of the Horse, 'ought to slay him without mercy where he stands!' 'Very good,' said Christina, 'I'll take care of him, and mind you don't forget what you have told me!' Monaldeschi seems to have suspected something, for he took to wearing a ponderous coat of mail under his uniform, but it was all to no purpose, as it turned out; for on the 6th of November he was condemned to death by Christina, after a long conversation, and was immediately afterwards hacked and chopped to death by Sentinelli and the rest, while the Queen waited calmly in a dressing-room until her august decrees were fulfilled. It is pleasanter to watch the Queen's demeanour during her visit to the French *Académie*. The meetings at that time took place in Chancellor Séguier's house, so famous for its vast gallery of books, which were ranged in cases under a ceiling of mosaics and gold with the cornice hidden under piles of porcelain. The Queen gave Ménage only a few hours' notice of her visit, but the worthy President did his best to collect a striking assemblage of persons of merit. Christina arrived with the Comtesse de Brégis, and, stepping forward to the President, asked anxiously whether the company would stand or sit in her presence. One of the best antiquaries was consulted, and he said that in Peter Ronsard's time Charles the Ninth used often to go to certain literary parties at St. Victor, when all the company used to be seated. The point being thus settled, the Queen took the

arm-chair at the head of the long table and the rest settled down at the sides. Several essays were read and poems recited, and a proof-sheet of the new Dictionary was brought out for the Queen's inspection. '*Jeu*' was the word that caught the eye, and among the examples stood '*Jeux de Prince*,' defined as jokes that only please those who make them. Christina was delighted with her evening, and made Ménage present the Members formally. '*C'est un homme de mérite*,' he whispered at each introduction. '*C'est un homme de mérite*,' said the Queen; 'but what a quantity of persons of merit M. Ménage has among his acquaintances!'

Christina was always meditating some gigantic purchase of books that might exalt her beyond the fame of the French collectors. She actually bought a few manuscripts when the Mazarine Library was dispersed, which she gave back when the Red Cardinal returned to power; she had good political reasons, we have no doubt, for not carrying off the whole collection, as Naudé had implored her to do. She had some faint hopes of getting the books of Henry de Nesmes, the finest set of rarities that the world had yet seen; but the great bibliophile had no real intention of parting with the treasures which he had collected from the ends of the earth. She made a definite offer to Hippolyte de Béthune, the owner of several magnificent manuscripts descended from Louis de Bruges; but the patriotic collector was anxious above everything that they should remain in France, and he made the matter safe by bequeathing them all to Louis Quatorze. She did, however, succeed in making one magnificent purchase. Paul Pétau the Antiquary had made a great collection of materials for the history of France: he had acquired a number of Greek and

Arabic books from the library of Jean St. André, and he had joined with Jacques Bongars, the learned minister of Henri Quatre, in buying up the manuscripts of the Abbey of St. Bénoist-sur-Loire, which had been saved by a faithful Bailiff when the Abbey was burned in the wars. Besides all this, he was the owner of a quantity of illuminated books of chivalry, chronicles, romances, and old French poems, which had been got together by Claude Fauchet, a prince of the bibliophiles. When Paul Pétau died, he left his library to his son Alexander, who kept the printed books till his death; and it was at the sale of his property in 1722 that so many of Paul Pétau's archæological treasures found their way into the Sunderland Collection. Alexander Pétau accepted Queen Christina's offer for the manuscripts; and more than a thousand fair vellums became thenceforth her constant friends and companions, and now rest undisturbed in the white presses and cupboards of the *Bibliotheca Alessandrina*.

The exact composition of the Queen's library has been the subject of much discussion, turning upon technical details which it would be out of place to mention in a sketch of this kind. We shall only notice one or two of the more salient points, adding some slight description of the delightful visions that meet the eyes of one who has been so fortunate as to obtain a *permesso*. The main facts are as follows: She brought with her to Rome 2145 MSS., and according to Emmanuel Scheelstræta, or 'Scheledseta' as the Italians called him, who made the valuation at her death, she had increased the number to 2214 by purchases in Rome. Most of the added volumes, we may observe, are easily distinguished by the Italian arms upon the binding.

Pope Alexander gave 100 MSS. to his nephew Cardinal Ottoboni. All the rest are now in the Vatican, except three, which are supposed to have been accidentally mislaid. It was thought, indeed, at one time that there had been a far greater loss; but it was discovered by Montfaucon that seventy-two volumes had been removed into an office for State Papers, being in fact documents which had, or might have, a political value. This class included documents relating to the history of France, Naples, and Hungary, and the ancient privileges of Dauphiné. The rest of the MSS. are kept in a fine hall looking over the Pope's garden; there are antique vases in terra-cotta on the presses containing the shelves, and the ceiling is appropriately decorated with a view of Ferrara, where Christina's songs for *Endimione* were first produced. At the corners are other pictures showing the fortifications of Civita Vecchia and the mouth of the Tiber at Ostia, and the frescoes on the side-walls represent the principal events in the life of Pope Pius the Fifth. The most valuable book that the Queen possessed may have been the ancient Septuagint written in the seventh century. There are several MSS. of the Carolingian times, a very old Psalter, and copies of the Theodosian Code and Laws of the Visigoths, 'at least a thousand years old'; and we ought to notice a fragment of the same Code written in the Tironian characters, as that ancient kind of shorthand was called, the use of which was forbidden by Justinian. In the same class of antiquities we may place a history of Robert of France, written by a contemporary scribe, and a book of the Gospels said to have belonged to the good king Wenceslaus. Out of 223 MSS. in this class a little more than half have not been published.

Another series comprises the romances of chivalry and universal chronicles, for the most part finely illuminated. Of these there are 245 in all, of which one-third have been described in the Catalogues. It is enough to give the message to all old friends, that the treasures derived by Pétau from Claude Fauchet are still well kept and intact. We see very few books from the North. There are two in Swedish, and in German only ten. There is one Flemish manuscript of no particular importance; as for our own country, we find some excellent old maps of America with an English text. The crowd of books is all mixed up without regard to age or size or quality. A little brown-cheeked Greek classic jostles with a grand 'Livro des Armadas,' beginning with the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope. We find a pretty 'Rosier des Guerres,' a black text on vermilion lines, and among the serious records of science, an illuminated Euclid, a tiny Epicurus, and an 'Astronomia,' with a description of the Spheres, 'the seven stars and the Solar Year,' in letters of gold. We open a grand folio called 'Mithridates,' and read at the beginning, 'I have often wondered at the Epistles of Brutus'; and we can only wish that we had time to explore these ancient enigmas. We feel bewildered in the presence of so many of these half-known sages: we note Theodore the Philosopher, 'Euthymius' in white and gold, the poets Juvencus and Sedulius. For ourselves we have a classification of our own, a catalogue arranged according to *provenance* and the personalities of the original owners. We place apart, for instance, several fine books given by Dr. Bourdelot, thinking of the Queen's answer to his last letter, 'Bah! how it smells of rhubarb!' As a reminiscence of Paul Pétau himself, we set by

itself the splendid folio of 'Roman Emperors, with coins and inscriptions,' bound in red, with the arms of Sweden on a shield; for a memorial of the Age of Chivalry, one can find nothing better than the 'History of Julius Cæsar' in the Romance tongue, inscribed with the names, 'Anna' and 'Stempse,' which indicate that it belonged to Anne, the Duchesse d'Estampes, who was said to have saved Francis the First from falling under the sway of the Renaissance and of Benvenuto Cellini. We are left with a general feeling of astonishment at the sight of all these splendid possessions; and we realise the truth of the saying of one who knew the Vatican well, that there were three principal moments in the history of the Library: one when in the sixteenth century Fulvio Orsini bequeathed his books, one when the Palatine Manuscripts came in after the destruction of Heidelberg Castle, and one when, on Christina's death, her books and manuscripts were packed in 'Monsignor Scheled-seta's boxes,' and were carried some to the Biblio-teca Alessandrina and some into the general store. Of printed volumes she left 3205 of large sizes, besides 2078 small books in the 'Librariola.' Most of these are in the Vatican, though a few here and there escaped. It is certainly rare to find a speci-men in the open market; but M. Bocca, a few months ago, sold a treatise called 'Homo Dubius,' dedicated to the Queen in 1674, and bound with her arms in red morocco with a pattern in black and gold and silver: '*e sul dorso la stemma in oro della Regina Cristina Alessandra di Svetia.*'

The Vatican documents already mentioned show the Queen, at the peaceful close of her life, making arrangements for her little parties and concerts, and disputing on points of etiquette. We para-

phrase just a few sentences, to show their general character. 'His Holiness says that he does not wish her to alter the rules about the Cardinals; but the Queen says that the English Ambassador is working very cleverly with the Duchess of Modena, and is treating her as on an equality with the Queen, who alone has the prerogative of being visited immediately after the Cardinal Dean; and as to the visit at Albano, it is no precedent, because there is no ceremony or State etiquette in country-houses': *et patati et patata.* Then under the date of February the 1st, 1687: 'The Queen of Sweden is to give an entertainment to the English Ambassador, with an orchestra of a hundred instruments,' and so forth. In a letter of the 8th of February the party is fully described. There were in fact 150 instruments and 100 voices: the Ambassador sat on a stool, the Grand Chamberlain on a step, the crowd of ladies *con habiti pomposi* on benches in front of the throne; 'the dessert and refreshments were admirable, and the Queen took her part as if she were a reigning Sovereign at home.'

The next night there was an opera about 'St. Dimna, the Princess of Ireland,' and other entertainments, and so the gaieties went on. The Queen died of a fever in April 1689, and was buried at St. Peter's; her remains, it is said, were at first deposited in the *Sagre Grotte*, and afterwards in the magnificent tomb that stands near the Pillar from the Temple of Jerusalem, on the right hand as one enters the Basilica. She wished to have been laid in the Pantheon, with the epitaph: 'Christina lived sixty-three years'; but it was thought expedient to celebrate her conversion by a pompous inscription, with her portrait above, as it appears upon the

ordinary cameos, and a *Basso relievo* showing her in the moment of abdication, handing her crown to King Charles Gustavus. We have seen her, in the mind's eye, in a hundred different costumes, as a Queen, an Amazon, as a dancer, or as the Nymph Amarantha; sometimes she is in her favourite *négligé* of frayed linen, with her hands and cuffs black with ink. We like her best on horseback, as Father Mannerscheid described her to the King of Spain: 'she wears a hat and waistcoat after the Spanish fashion, and her skirts alone show that she is a woman; she keeps one foot on the stirrup, but goes so fast that one would think she was flying.' As for her epitaph, if we had to choose one we should say with the people of her own time: 'After all, she was the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus.'

CHARLES ELTON.

RAOUL LEFEVRE AND 'LE RECUEIL DES HISTOIRES DE TROYE.'

IT is well known that William Caxton devoted his leisure at Bruges, Ghent, and Cologne from 1st March 1468, till 19th September 1471, to translating a book entitled *Le Recueil des histoires de Troye*, and that he presented his translation to the Duchess Margaret of Burgundy. It is further known that about 1471 he began to learn at his 'grete charge and dispense' the newly-invented art of printing, and that the first English book on which he practised it was this translation, which he published about A.D. 1475 under the title of *The Recuyell of the historyes of Troye*. According to the statements of Caxton, repeated in all the subsequent editions, and supported by the authority of the French edition (printed probably by Colard Mansion about 1477 at Bruges, with the same type as Caxton's), and of several French MSS. of the fifteenth century, Raoul Lefevre, a priest and chaplain to Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy, 'composed and drew this work out of divers books in' Latin into French in the year 1464.' There exists, however, one MS. which ascribes the authorship of the first two books of the *Recueil* to a certain 'Guillaume de Failly,' and, on the authority of this MS., M. Paulin Paris, in his work, *Les Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, has accused Lefevre of 'une grande fraude littéraire.' Mr. William Blades, in his *Life and Typography of*

William Caxton, commenting on M. P. Paris' opinion, says: 'In that age a similar course was by no means uncommon, nor was it an infringement of any recognised literary right; we can hardly, therefore, with M. Paris, call it (even if true) "une grande fraude littéraire."' M. A. Joly expresses his opinion on M. Paris' theory, in his work, *Benoît de Sainte More et Le Roman de Troie*, where he speaks of the *Recueil* thus: 'les dates seules, à ce qu'il me semble, s'opposent à cette conclusion et il paraît plus naturel de croire à une confusion du copiste qu'à une si complète et si impudente usurpation du chapelain du duc de Bourgogne,' etc. Others, without any further investigation, accept Caxton's statement as a fact. As I am at present engaged in editing the *Recuyell*, I have thought it my duty to examine minutely all the authorities still extant, in the hope of either confirming M. P. Paris' theory, or of establishing the claims of Raoul Lefevre to the authorship of the *Recueil* beyond all doubt; and in the present paper I propose to give a summary of the results I have obtained.

I have seen and examined eleven MSS. of the *Recueil*, viz.:—(1) Ms. Royal 17. E. ii., British Museum; (2) No. 59; (3) No. 252; (4) No. 253; (5) No. 255; (6) No. 22, 552; and (7) No. 697 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; (8) No. 5068 of the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris; (9) Nos. 9261-62; (10) No. 9263; and (11) No. 9254 of the old Bibliothèque des ducs de Bourgogne, now in the Royal Library, Brussels. Of these eleven MSS. (to which I shall, in the course of the discussion, refer by the numbers 1, 2, 3, etc.) 7, 9, 10 contain only the first two books of the *Recueil*; 2, 3, 4, 6, and 11 contain all three books and ascribe the

whole, in terms very similar to Caxton's, to Raoul Lefevre. No. 2, *e.g.*, thus:

'Cy commence le volume intitule le recueil des histoires de Troyes compose par venerable homme raoul lefeure prestre chappellain de mon tres redoubte seigneur monseigneur le duc Philippe de Bourgoingne en lan de grace mil. . iiii.^{c} lxiiij.'

In 1, 5 and 10, this paragraph is omitted, and no author's or compiler's name mentioned at all. Ms. 7 alone has the following paragraph as a heading: 'Cy commence le recueil des troiennes ystoires translate du latin en franczois par messire guillem de failly euesque de tournay et abbe de sainct bertin en la ville de sainct omer en flandres. Au commandement de tresredoubte prince monseigneur phelippe duc de bourgongne. Et cetera.'

In attempting to explain this ascription we meet at once with the obstacle that the name Guillaume de Failly is not found in any list of the holders of the two dignities mentioned; but a bishop of Tournai, who was contemporary with Philip, Duke of Burgundy, had the name Guillaume Filastre. This Guillaume Filastre is, of course, identified by M. Paulin Paris with the Guillaume de Failly of MS. 7, and the whole case explained as a mistake of the scribe in writing 'de Failly' for 'Filastre.' The MS. further led M. Paris to the conclusion that the Duke of Burgundy had charged Filastre with the compilation of the *Recueil*, but that he only wrote the first two books, to which Lefevre added the third, and passed the whole work off under his name. Mr. Blades, confirming M. Paris' opinion, declares that de Failly must be a clerical error for Filastre.

In the hope of finding the means for explaining the 'de Failly' more satisfactorily than M. Paris

and Mr. Blades, in the various records of the life of Guillaume, Bishop of Tournai, I collected all the information I could about him. What I found is very briefly this: Guillaume was an illegitimate son of Etienne Filastre, Governor of the Province of Maine, under Louis III. of Anjou; Guillaume Filastre, the Cardinal-Archbishop of Aix and papal legate to France, was his uncle. He entered the Order of St. Benedict at Châlons-sur-Marne, became successively prior of Sermaise and St. Thierry, Rheims, Bishop of Verdun in 1437, of Toul in 1449, and finally Bishop of Tournai in 1460; as such he was also abbot of the church of St. Bertin, at St. Omer in Flanders. Guillaume was a favourite of Philip the Good, who appointed him president of his privy council, and Chancellor of the Order of the Golden Fleece, which he had founded in 1430. Guillaume died on 21st August 1473, as Bishop of Tournai; and was buried in his church of St. Bertin, where his Latin epitaph is still to be seen. I have found, in the Archives Nationales at Paris, the document by which Louis XI. made him legitimate, on his application, in consideration of his great merits; but, although his illegitimate birth is repeatedly referred to in this document, the name 'de Failly' is not mentioned. Besides a historical treatise of little value and long forgotten, Guillaume wrote a work which is entitled *L'histoire de la Toison d'Or* and was intended to consist of six books or 'thoisons,' viz., Jason, Jacob, Gideon, King of Moab, Job, and David. In France and Belgium there are a large number of beautifully illuminated MSS. of this work, but these, without exception, contain only the first two books, often shortly styled *liure de Jason* and *liure de Jacob*; but as is proved by the existence of a beautiful

unique MS., once the property of the Dukes of Cleves, in the Royal Library, Copenhagen, he wrote a third one, *la thoison de Gedeon*, which (though unknown to all its historians) is the most important for the Order of Golden Fleece, whose mysteries were all derived from the story of Gideon. As Guillaume's book was commissioned by Charles the Bold at the first chapter of the Order held after the decease of Philip the Good, on 6th May 1468, its date cannot be earlier than 1468, and not later than 1473, the year of Guillaume's death.

Having thus found no clue in the life of Filastre as to the 'de Failly' (not a matter for surprise, since he probably did all in his power to efface every trace of his illegitimate birth), I now searched after a place of that name, in the districts where his father and he had occupied important offices. There are two places called Failly in the departments of the Moselle and Marne, the latter being a farm, once perhaps a nobleman's seat, situated in the 'commune' of the abbey 'de Chatrices,' one of the dependencies of the old diocese Châlons-sur-Marne, where he entered the Order of St. Benedict. Unfortunately the archives and documents of this abbey relating to its early history have been destroyed by repeated fires.

A search among the genealogies of the noble families in the provinces where his father had spent his days proved equally fruitless. There existed several old families of the name in Lorraine, and there still survives such a family in the 'généralité' of Châlons-sur-Marne, but to connect any of these with Filastre was impossible, and I had already given up all hope of settling the point, when I discovered by chance, in a huge MS. volume of the Royal Library, Brussels, (Marius Voet F. A.

français, No. 736, fol. 83) the pedigree of a family 'de Failly' which begins thus: 'Gilles de Failly, seigneur de Vully et de Richecourt en Bourgogne épousa une dame Filastre, dite de Nausoy.' They had one son 'Guillaume de Failly, chevalier-seigneur de Bernisart, chambellan et écuier de Charles duc de Bourgogne en 1465.'

As Charles the Bold was in 1465 only heir presumptive to the throne of Burgundy, the MS. must have been written after his accession. 'Gilles de Failly' would be about the same age as the father of the Bishop of Tournai; he was a nobleman of Burgundy; is it not highly probable that his wife, a born Filastre, belonged to the same family as Etienne and Guillaume Filastre? And, what is more important still, is it not very likely that the mother of the Bishop of Tournai was a 'de Failly' by birth, so that until September 1461, the date of the charter of legitimacy, his real name was that given him by the scribe of MS. 7, *i.e.* Guillaume de Failly. This fact must have been known to many, especially to the monks of the Order of St. Benedict, and the monasteries of Sermaise and St. Thierry; why not to the scribe of MS. 7? It is probable that the Bishop of Tournai made as little noise as possible about this charter after it was granted, in order not to recall attention to his illegitimate birth, and in this he was assisted by the custom, by which bishops are officially addressed by their Christian names, as can be seen from the MSS. of the *Thoison d'Or*, where he is only called 'Guillaume evesque de Tournay,' etc. The scribe of the MS. 7, so much is certain, whether we accept this plausible theory or not, did not blunder in the name 'de Failly,' although, as we shall see later on, he made other mistakes.

As to Raoul Lefevre nothing is to be found about his life and work beyond the few facts we can glean from the above quoted introductory paragraph in the MSS. and printed editions. Solely on the authority of Caxton (who says, in his prologue to his *Book of Jason*, that it was compiled by the same author as the *Recueil*), he has hitherto been generally described as the author or compiler of *le liure de Jason*, otherwise called *L'histoire de la Conquête de la Toison d'Or*. Neither in England nor in France has it hitherto been noticed that there exists a much stronger evidence for Lefevre's claim to the authorship of this book. But I have seen in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, once the famous library of Marc-Antoine-René de Paulmy, a MS. of the *liure de Jason* written in Lefevre's own handwriting, a fact which is stated at the end in the rubricated colophon: 'Escript de la main de lacteur Raoul le feure prebstre indigne.' Of the genuineness of this colophon there can be no doubt, for it can be proved by authentic documents that this very MS. was in 1467 in the library of Philip the Good at Bruges, and belonged until 1777 to the library at Brussels. It is referred to by De Paulmy, as belonging to his library, in his *Mélanges tirés d'une grande Bibliothèque* (*Paris*, 1780).

A comparison of the *Jason* with the three books of the *Recueil* will disclose, to any one who looks carefully through these works, a great many features which are common to both; nay, he will be struck by a great similarity in style and phraseology, and this naturally and necessarily suggests that both are the work of one and the same man, viz., Lefevre. On the other hand, if we compare Filastre's *Jason* with the three books of the *Recueil*, we not only

find no such common features, but we are impressed with the fact, that Filastre and Lefevre wrote for an entirely different purpose: the former to instruct and to moralise, the latter to entertain.

Now it will be remembered that while in favour of Lefevre's authorship of the *Recueil*, we have six MSS. (viz., 2, 3, 4, 6, 9, and 11), the printed editions, both French and English, and Caxton, in his prologue to the *Jason*, in favour of the authorship of Failly or Filastre we have only the single MS. 7. This MS., since it states that Failly or Filastre was Bishop of Tournai, cannot have been written before 1461. I think myself that it was written after 1467 and before 1473, in the early part of the reign of Charles the Bold; but I believe that it is the copy of a MS. (and a copy we may be sure it is, for the simple reason that, in several places, the contents of whole lines are omitted, which can be supplied from other MSS.) written about 1461, perhaps even a few years earlier. Now the MSS., No. 9 certainly, and No. 10 probably, which both only contain the first two books, are not written later than 1461, rather a few years earlier, and both were, as we can prove by authentic documents, in 1467, in the Library at Bruges. As it is impossible to assume that both Filastre and Lefevre wrote exactly the same account of the history of Troy, it is only reasonable that we should attribute it to the one for whose claims we possess the strongest evidence, *i.e.* Lefevre.

Does it not seem impossible that Lefevre could have perpetrated such a fraud with immunity before the very eyes of the Duke of Burgundy, at the time when Filastre occupied a position of great distinction? Can we believe that the Duchess Margaret of Burgundy would not have known of it,

if Lefevre had really wrongfully assumed the authorship of the *Recueil*, and corrected Caxton's statement if not for the MS., at least for his printed edition? And lastly, would Caxton, who was a contemporary of both men, and, owing to his position at the court of Bruges, probably personally acquainted with them, knowingly have put on record an untrue statement? There can be no doubt, Lefevre was the man whom the Duke of Burgundy charged with the compilation of the *Recueil*, and the three books we possess are his work.

These arguments from intrinsic probability are immensely strengthened by the ease with which we can explain how the scribe of MS. 7 came to make such a mistake.[1] There existed MSS. of the first two books, and of all three books of the *Recueil*, as, *e.g.* 1, 5, and 10, in which the statement, that Lefevre compiled it, was omitted. We have seen that both Filastre and Lefevre wrote books which were shortly styled *liure de Jason*. The scribe of MS. 7 had heard that the compiler of the two first books of the *Recueil* also wrote a 'liure de Jason,' he confounded the *Jason* of Lefevre with that of Filastre, and in his desire to remedy the defect of his MS., *i.e.* the omission of the author's name, he added one on his own account, but undoubtedly the wrong one; and as he had heard of, or perhaps personally known, the Bishop of Tournai as Guillaume de Failly, but not as Guillaume Filastre,

[1] It may be noted that the real ignorance of the scribe of this MS. 7, as to all which concerns the authorship of the work, comes out in another mistake which he makes. While in all the other MSS. and printed editions the terms *composé* or *compilé* are used, here the work is said, and in the modern sense of the word, to be *translaté du* latin *en franczois*. If these words had been applied to the third book, they would have been justifiable to some extent, but the first two are by no means a translation but a compilation, and, it must be added, the compiler took considerable liberties with his sources.

he wrote this name for that of Filastre, to which the Bishop only had a right after September 1461.

If I could have carried the MS. 9 (9261-62) from Brussels to Paris, and placed it side by side with the *liure de Jason* of the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, I think I should have been able to adduce some still stronger evidence. I firmly believe that both parts of the MS. at Brussels are written by the same hand as that in Paris, viz., Lefevre's. For this hypothesis there are the following reasons: (1) All three MSS. belonged in 1467 to the Library at Bruges; (2) All three are written right across the page, and not, as most of the other MSS., in double columns; (3) The headings and miniatures are arranged alike in all three; (4) There occur in the two Brussels MSS. several passages which are not to be met with in any other, and which seem to point to the fact that the author Raoul Lefevre wrote them himself: viz., while in all MSS. where Lefevre's name occurs, he is described as 'venerable homme' and 'prebstre chappellain'; in these he is simply spoken of as 'prebstre,' and to the name 'Philippe, par la grace de dieu duc de bourgongne, etc.,' is added 'vj^e de ce nom.' At the beginning of Book I. occurs the following passage: 'Apres ce que ou liure precedent laucteur a determine. . . . Il vuelt en ce second liure monstrer les granz fais dignez de memore dicellui hercules lesquelz sont comme impossibles a croire se ce ne fust que Bocace en son liure quil fist et intitula *De' la genealogie des dieux* et aussi plusieurs autres qui en ont escript assez largement,' —a unique passage which could hardly have been written by any one but the author, who then goes on: 'Pour entrer en matiere,' etc.

One day when either through the help of photography, or through the action of the authorities of

one of the two libraries, these MSS. are placed side by side before an expert, the hypothesis I now advance will be proved.

But the careful study of the MSS. of the *Recueil* has taught us still more. The text of all MSS. and printed editions is alike, save as to insignificant differences of style and orthography. All, except 1, 5, and 8, contain a prologue beginning, 'Quand je regarde et congnois,' etc. The first part and the end of this prologue are alike in all MSS., but in the middle occurs a passage which differs. In MSS. 2, 3, 4, 6, and 11, in the printed edition, and, *mutata linguâ*, in Caxton's translation, this passage runs thus: 'feray *trois* liures qui mis en vng prendront pour nom le recueil des troyennes histoires. /Ou premier liuré Je traicteray de saturne et de Jupiter et de laduenement de troyes et des faiz de perseus. Et de la merueilleuse natiuite de herculez et de la premiere destruction de troyes / Ou second Je traicteray des labeurs de herculez en demonstrant comment troyes fu reedifie et destruicté par le dit Hercules la seconde fois Et ou tiers Je traicteray de la derreniere et generalle déstruction de troyes faicte par les gregois accause du rauissement de dame helaine femme de Menelaus / Et y adiousteray les faiz et grans prouesses du preu hector. Et de ses freres qui sont dignes de grant memoire / Et aussi traicteray des merueilleuses auantures et perilz de mer qui aduindrent aux gregois en leur retour / de la mort du noble roy Agamenon qui fut duc de lost / Et des grans fortunes du roy Vlixes et de sa merueilleuse mort.'

In the MSS. 9 and 10 this passage is replaced by the following lines: 'feray . iiij . liures qui mis en vng prendront pour nom le recoeil des troyennes histoires. ¶ Ou premier liure je traicteray de saturne et de jupiter ¶ de laduenement de troyes et

de la premiere destruccion de troyes. Ou second je traitteray de la seconde destruccion qui fu faitte pour Jason et sy y adiousteray les fais dhercules. Ou tiers je traitteray de la iij^{eme} destruction qui fu faitte pour le rauissement de la belle Hellaine. Et ou quart je descriray la quarte destruccion qui fu faitte par fimbria consul romain au temps de la contencion qui fu a Romme entre marius et sulla. Et y adiousteray la naissance de paris et ses aduentures de jeunesse, la naissance de vlixes et ses anciens perilz de mer et les genealogies de la plus part de ceux qui troyes perdirent durant le regne du Roy Priant.'

Lastly, in MS. 7, the following paragraph occurs in this place: 'feray *deux* liures qui mis en vng prendront pour nom le recueil des troyennes histoires. Ou premier liure je traicteray de saturne et de jupiter de laduenement de troyes et des fais de Persees. Ou second et derrenier je metteray par escript les grans labeurs de Hercules en demonstrant comment il destruisi troyes par deux fois Mais de la derreniere et tierce destruccion dicelle jen laisse les aultres conuenir.'

While in all the MSS. 2, 3, 4, 6, and 11, in accordance with the printed editions and Caxton's translation, the second book begins after the first destruction of Troy by Hercules, in MS. 7 it begins with his birth.

From these passages we learn that at the outset Lefevre only intended to write two books of the *Recueil*, leaving the description of the third and general destruction of Troy to others. This first stage of the history of his *Recueil* is represented by MS. 7, or rather by the MS. from which the scribe copied. Later on, Lefevre altered his mind, and, instead of writing only two books, he wished to write four, the third to deal with the destruction of

Troy by the Greeks, and the fourth to describe a fourth destruction by the Roman consul Fimbria, who lived at the time of Marius and Sulla. Evidently, with the intention of arranging the matter so that each book should contain one destruction of Troy, Lefevre then altered the division he adopted first, and thus it is to be explained that a portion of the life of Hercules, from his birth to the first destruction of Troy, is added to Book I. This second stage in the history of the *Recueil* is represented by the MSS. 9 and 10.

Finding in the end that materials for a description of the fourth destruction of Troy by Fimbria were not to be obtained, or were insufficient to fill a fourth book, Lefevre altered his plan once more and satisfied himself with writing three books. This third stage is represented by the MSS. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, and 11, all the printed editions and the English translation, and, according to their unanimous statement, the *Recueil* was finished in this shape by the year 1464.

From the fact that there existed in 1467 at the Library at Bruges copies of the two first books of the *Recueil* and of the *Jason* in Lefevre's handwriting, we may reasonably suppose that there was also a copy of the third book in that Library. What became of it, however, I was unable to ascertain; perhaps it will turn up one day in France, or Belgium, or England from a private library, perhaps it has been destroyed long ago.

H. OSKAR SOMMER.

NAMES AND NOTES IN BOOKS

SOME anonymous benefactor has sent me a book which has a certain interest. We can trace its whole pedigree for more than one hundred and fifty years. It is *Oppian's Halieuticks*, translated into heroic verse by Mr. Diaper and Mr. Jones of Balliol, and was published at Oxford, 'printed at the Theater, *An. Dom. M.D.CCXXII.*' The book was produced by subscription and all Balliol seems to have subscribed; among the names is 'Mr. Hanson, June 30, 1722,' whose autograph is on the title-page. He adds, 'The subscription money is 7s. 6d.'

The fly-leaf records the ownership of the book by Nathanael Ellison, Lincoln College, Oxford, October 24, 1758. 'Afterwards of Merton College,' he writes, in lighter ink. Then we have

N. T. Ellison, Balliol College,
d.d. Nath. E. Ellison,
1821.

Next,

John T. Bigge,
Hamfordham Vicarage,
d.d. Nathanael Ellison,
March 18, 1829.

Then,

Gift of the above last named to
Joseph Crawhall,
Newcastle-on-Tyne,
January 15, 1870.

The last entry, so far, is my own; it has come

back to a Merton and Balliol owner. None of the possessors have been illustrious, but Mr. Crawhall is, or was, renowned as an angler.

What a pity it is that all owners of books do not put their signatures on a fly-leaf!—it is more interesting than a book-plate, and takes up less room. It is interesting to learn who have been our predecessors, and to trace them, perhaps for four hundred years, would be of exceeding interest. They might add the price they paid, and the place of purchase, as Sir Mark Sykes has done, in an Aldine *Justinus*, in red morocco, with yellow silk lining, *penes me*. But men have owned that book for nearly four centuries, and there is nothing to tell us who they were. Our predecessors in proprietorship shared our tastes, at all events, and if they had taken the trouble to write their names, they might receive from us, and we from them, a slight telepathic impact of a friendly character.

Our old books are haunted things, but in an obscure way, when they lack signatures. Even marginal notes I own to liking.

What enthusiast scored the Cornelius Agrippa, now before me, with approving lines? Who added the MS. epigram on the fly-leaf?

Who took notes, in an indecipherable early seventeenth century hand, at the back of Petrus Thyraeus, *de Locis Infestis* (1598)? The name might tell us little or a great deal, the notes may be all that is left of a forgotten pedant, or can they be by James VI., who gave many books to St. Andrews University Library, perhaps this among them, as he was fond of demonology? The marginalia of Coleridge on Southey's *Wesley*, of Swift and Lord Auchinleck on Burnet's *History of his own Time*,

are published, and were worth publishing. I do not even object to 'I think Pelham a sad puppy,' if the scribbler scribbled in his own copy. Our ancient forgotten marginalia may amuse us. In my *Lays of Ancient Rome*, a birthday gift when I was ten, opposite a gallant deed of Titus Tarquin, I find in a boyish hand, the amazing comment, 'Well done, the Jacobites!'

The sentiment is Legitimist, and the impression, that of sympathy with the victims of the *regifugium*, was not what Macaulay intended to produce. One has seen 'Histories of the Rebellion of 1745' with 'Rebellion' effaced, and 'Rising' carefully substituted throughout. Scott mentions an old book of heraldry, wherein some patriot has scrawled that whoever asserts the English superiority over Scotland 'lies in his throat.' That gentleman had not read with indifference, nor are we indifferent as we follow his footsteps, and mark his 'very observing thumb.' I have an *Angler's Vade Mecum*, of 1682, with excellent contemporary wrinkles as to flies, on the margins. But who was the angler that indited them? There is nothing to tell. We know we had a friend, two hundred years ago, but he is anonymous. As to sketching on margins, do not our old school and college books preserve the profiles of her who then was the fairest fair? The melancholy years must have made the designs unrecognisable long ago.

While thus sympathetic with the habit of impressing one's personality on a book, let me add that it must not be a borrowed book, nor an old book, nor a beautiful book. We must not scribble on a Shakespeare quarto or folio, but, if 'the old corrector' had really done so in his day, we might be grateful to him now. The man who scribbles on

a library book, inserting his idiotic prejudices as marginalia in a work belonging to the London Library (as many use), should be expelled from that occasionally useful institution.

Among writers on fly-leaves, Scott was conspicuous: his remarks were to the point. On Harry Maule's *History of the Picts* (dear to Sir Arthur Wardour) he has written, 'Very rare, therefore worth a guinea; very senseless, therefore not worth a shilling.' With his Chevalier Johnstone's *Memoirs* is a letter of the Chevalier's granddaughter, asking for information about her ancestor. His collection of chap-book ballads, made when a boy, and often hardly rescued from the servants, has a very interesting note. In the Abbotsford Catalogue the annotated books are named, but the marginalia are not published. I happen to possess an example of the 1815 edition of Kirk's *Secret Commonwealth*, with Scott's autograph presentation to Bozzy's son, Sir Alexander Boswell, of Auchinleck, afterwards killed in a duel. Scott seems to have seen the edition through the press. In my own library (which is not precisely of national importance) is a set of Scott's poems, in blue calf, with his autograph, presenting them to his neighbour at Ashestiel, Mrs. Laidlaw, in Peel farm, the wife of a gentleman known to Scott as Laird Nippy. She, again, gave them to my grandfather, and from no books would I part more reluctantly. My copy of Keats's first poems (1817) has a very interesting stamp, that of Earlswood Asylum for Idiots. Probably *Z.*, who reviewed Keats in *Blackwood*, might have been pleased with this appropriate *provenance*. I have in yellow morocco the second edition of the French *Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus*, with Eisen's plates in a very rubbed and worn condition.

But the book has the autograph of John Wilkes. 'I take the Wilkes and Liberty to wish' that he had bought the first edition when he was about it. Schelling has owned my copy of Villoison's first edition of the *Venetus A.* MS., and scholia of the *Iliad.* They could gild edges when that book was bound. Once I had a Diderot, in red morocco, presented by a Prussian prince to the ambassador from the first French Republic. But a descendant of the ambassador's heard of it, and got it. Napoleon's shabby copy of *Les Intrigues de Molière et de sa Femme*, a grimy Frankfort edition, is mine; the Emperor has not signed it, but there is a red stamp of an eagle-headed N. Then there is Léon Gambetta's *Journée Chrétienne*, cost me fourpence. More amusing is a copy of one's own first rhymes, presented by an undergraduate to a young French lady,—she could have got a better price if she had held on, but she probably sold out at a terrible reduction.

The books with armorial bindings please me less than old books with signatures. Grolier is out of reach, but Colbert is common enough, in red morocco, and no one need deny himself a De Thou, who buys books of any rarity. All coats of arms are cheap in calf, and one has seen Longepierre's fleece and Madame de Pompadour's castles in very shabby company in Holywell Street. I do not think that one should buy a book for a signature, the point is to buy it for itself, and find that it comes from an interesting owner. Thus a shilling made me master of Crashaw's *Steps to the Temple*, which had belonged to his friend Collet,—but then it was imperfect, like my Montaigne with the autograph of Drummond of Hawthornden. It appears a good rule never to pay more for a book by

reason of its autograph additions, unless they are, as dealers say, 'very genuine.' A trade in forged autographs of eminent reformers, on books of the period, was, at one time, driven with some success among admirers of the Reformation. Only the very guileless are likely to be taken in by such devices, and they can secure themselves by never paying more for the autograph than the ordinary price of the book. Thus a friend of my own bought, for a shilling or two, Shelley's copy of Ossian, with his signature. This was a pretty relic, but, had a higher ransom been asked, the book would have been subject of just suspicion.

These remarks, which deal with a natural sentiment, are obviously capable of being misconstrued and acted upon mischievously by weak brethren. Idiots may think it a duty to scrawl their comments on *good* books; as long as they confine themselves to the cheap trash they prefer to read, no harm is done.

Again, many collectors regard all writing of owners' names on books with a pious horror, preferring book-plates. These are not nearly so personal and interesting as autographs; and again imbeciles have a trick of removing book-plates, and pasting them into albums. Thus they deprive both the bereaved book and the book-plate of any interest they possess by virtue of their alliance. Mr. Pepys's plate, even 'on a roguish French novel,' constitutes a relic: the novel, without the plate, is worthless; so is the plate without the novel. Plates also take up a good deal of room, and modern plates are usually ugly, and exhibit the desperate efforts of unimaginative persons to display fancy. How much more valuable is the writing on the fly-leaf of Saint Margaret's Gospels, which demonstrates that

the volume was the subject of a miracle, described by Turgot!

Notes of price and place of purchase are also useful.

One kind of signature, to my mind, gives little value or none; that is the signature of a poet in a presentation copy of his own effusions. Every one who turns over a volume on a stall knows that *all* the minor poetry bears the minstrel's signature, and has been given by him to a friend or a critic. For my own part, all poetry books from strangers, with inscriptions, are cast into a huge waste-paper basket. What becomes of them after the basket is emptied I have no idea. They are 'among the veniable part of things lost,' but if the writers find them in the fourpenny box, let them not suppose that the victim made any pecuniary profit out of the offerings. Perhaps they may be interesting some day, when the Poet has acquired fame, but the odds against him are a million to one. Yet there are exceptions. Mr. Kipling's *Departmental Ditties*, in the very odd first edition, did *not* find its long home in the usual sepulchre; some one was clever enough to borrow it, and wise enough to cleave to his plunder. As to inscribed copies from friends, they ought to have their pages cut at once. I may have told before the anecdote of a lady on whose shelves I found my immortal works, 'pages unopened.' So I cut the pages of the next book I sent her (with a touching inscription), and, meeting her months later, I said, 'You see I saved you the trouble of cutting the pages.' 'Oh, were the pages cut?' she said, innocently; and let this be a lesson to authors. People do not want our books, not 'from the author,' at all events. It is curious that the hasty letters 'anticipating much pleasure from

the perusal' do not enlighten us on this head. Ours is misplaced generosity, or, if we worry a person of distinction, or a critic, is misplaced calculation. He fears the Greeks, especially *dona ferentes*, and there is no more certain way of setting a critic against us than by supplying him with our books and autograph. On the other hand, there is a peculiarly pestilent kind of ass, who sends us copies of our books, with a request for our autograph to be written on the fly-leaf. This kind is very common in America, and accompanies his letter with *American* stamps for return. Necessarily this is a proof of congenital or acquired idiocy.

The curious amateur may ask whether the author of these comments writes his own name in his books, and acts up to his own advice? No, he never does anything of the sort.

ANDREW LANG.

THE ACCIPIES WOODCUT

THE German woodcuts, which bear the words *Accipies tanti doctoris dogmata sancti* form a group of some interest. Apart from that attaching to the general scheme from its wide-spread employment, the fact that in many cases the occurrence of a particular variety affords the readiest clue to the identification of the printer of the book in which it is found makes it desirable that the various forms should be enumerated, and indications given by which they may be easily distinguished.

There seems to be no instance of the occurrence of such a cut earlier than the year 1491, and its use is quite restricted. As its object is to recommend the contents of the work it accompanies, it is never found elsewhere than on the title-page; while its design renders it unsuitable to any books but those of a more or less scholastic or didactic character. Its size, which within limits is invariable, causes it to be employed solely in books printed in quarto.

In the *Serapeum* for 1843 (p. 252), Dr. Moser of Stuttgart distinguished and described four varieties of the *Accipies* cut; a fifth variety is added by Muther, in his *Deutsche Bücher-Illustration*, Bd. 1. I hope to show in this paper that these five varieties are by no means all that can now be found. I have distinguished five principal divisions here marked A, B, C, etc. Of these the first has several distinct subdivisions (Ai., Aij., etc.). The forms of the cut mentioned by Moser, who

adds some further distinguishing marks to those I enumerate, are those numbered below Ai., Aij., Avj., and C.; Muther's addition is that called B.

A. On the left side of the cut the master is seated at a desk on which lies an open book. His seat is surmounted by a canopy, which ends in

CUT A.

trefoil pendants. The text of the book is shown by lines of square dots. He wears a cap with a point or button to it, his head is surrounded by a halo, and a dove is perched on his right shoulder. Behind him is a glazed window, and at the back of the room is an arched opening in the wall of the room through which the country beyond is seen.

The floor is chequered in black and white squares. In the front of the desk at which the master is seated is a door, indicated by four lines forming a rhomboid. Two lines crossing the left hand line of this stand for hinges, and an oblong attached to the right hand line marks the lock. In front of the master and below the desk are seated two scholars with books in their hands. Above the figures and desk runs the legend on a ribbon which slopes downwards from left to right in four divisions.

i. *Heinrich Quentell at Cologne.*

This is by far the most common form in which the *Accipies* cut is found. Muther (Bd. 1. p. 52) names seventeen books in which it is employed, but his list is doubtless incomplete. In determining which is the earliest book of Quentell's in which the cut occurs, some doubt arises from the frequent use by Quentell of another cut of a master and two scholars in a large hall, without a legend. Muther has confused the two in citing the *Composita verborum* of 1498 (Hain, *14780), as containing the *Accipies* cut, whereas it really contains the other. Probably the first book in which the *Accipies* cut is used is the *Alexandri Doctrinale*, dated 23rd June 1491 (Hain, *705), but the first in which I have actually seen it is the *Poeniteas cito* of 12th March 1492. The printer used the block very much up to 1496, after that, rarely, if at all. The following are a few of the books in which it is found:—1492: Hain, 13160, 13396, *6784. 1493: *8704, *9906, *14268. 1495: *13707. 1496: *13397. Without date: 14912, *2913, 10729, *2914, *14682,*14901, *14911.

This cut is mentioned by Muther and Moser

(*ll. cc.*). The points by which it may be most easily distinguished are the following :—

1. The legend runs: Accipies || tanti / doctoris || dog- || mata ſancti. ||

2. The book on the desk has on the left page six lines of five dots, on the right page six lines of four dots, all small.

3. The door in the desk has a white lock, and a short cross line joins the outside line of the door, at the point where the lock is, to the inside line of the desk.

4. The white squares on the floor have a small circle marked on them.

ij. *Johann Schönsperger at Augsburg.*

This is the variation which forms the chief ground of Moser's article. It is used in the *Cato* of 1497 (Hain, 4736), which has the printer's name; also in a *Donatus* of the same year with the initials J. S. (Hain, *6367), in an *Aesop*, also of 1497, without name of printer, and in a *Cato* in Latin and German, *sine nota*. In this cut we notice the following points as compared with No. i. :—

1. The legend reads: Accipies || tanti docioris(*sic*)|| dog- || mata ſancti. ||

2. The left page of the book has six lines of six thick dots; the right page has six lines of five dots. Those in the bottom line of the right page are crowded together, owing to the master's hand which rests on the book.

3. The lock of the door is as No. i., but there is no short connecting line.

4. The floor is marked as No. i.

iij. *Hans Reger at Ulm.*

Only one book by this printer, so far as I

am aware, contains the *Accipies* cut. This is a *Compendium octo partium orationis* (Hain, *5561), which has no printer's name or date, but contains some lines of the quasi-Roman type used in the *Ptolemaeus* of 1486, and in the *Ephemerides* of 1499.

1. The motto is arranged as in No. i., but the comma after *tanti* is shorter.

2. The left page has six lines of five thick dots, the right page five lines of four dots.

3. There is no lock marked in the door of the master's desk.

4. The floor is as in Nos. i., ij.

iiij. *Johann Froschauer at Augsburg.*

The *Accipies* cut is found in two books printed in the type of J. Froschauer, but both *sine nota*. One of these is the *Doctrinale Altum* of Alanus de Insulis, the other an edition of the *Poeniteas cito* (Hain, *13157).

1. The motto is as in No. i., but the comma after *tanti* is faint.

2. The left page has six lines of five dots; the right page has one line of five, and five lines of four dots; those in the bottom line are crowded by the master's hand as in No. ij.

3. The lock on the door is not cut out, but left so as to print black. There is no short cross line.

4. The white squares in the floor have no circles on them.

v. *Heinrich Gran at Hagenau.*

The cut is found on the title-page of the *Sermones dormi secure*, dated January 1493. (Hain, *15964). It seems shortly after to have past into the possession of a printer at Strassburg (see below).

1. The motto is as in No. i., but there is no comma after *tanti*.

2. The left page has six lines of six dots; the right page has five lines of six and one line of five dots. One of these last almost coalesces with the master's forefinger.

3. As in No. i.

4. The last white square on the right has no circle; otherwise it is as No. i.

vj. *Strassburg.*

This is the same block as No. v., and in the same state. It is found first in an *Aesopus moralisatus*, without name of printer or place, dated 1494 (Hain, *311). (This is the edition sometimes ascribed to Jac. de Breda. See Campbell's *Annales*, No. 44, and Suppl. III. p. 2, where the question is discussed by Dr. Schmidt of Darmstadt.) It is also found in the *Exercitium puerorum grammaticale* of the same year (Hain, *6770; Muther, *op. cit.* p. 74, No. 528), which has the place given, but no name of printer. It occurs next in a Boethius *de disciplina scholarium*, with the place, but again no printer's name, and the date Mccccxv, for 1495 (Hain, *3424). In 1498 this cut was in Martin Flach's possession, and was used by him in his edition of Ebrardus, *Modus latinitatis* (Hain, *6547) of that date. It seems certain that the three other books are not printed by Flach, though the great confusion of types at Strassburg in this period makes it very difficult to decide who the printer actually was. In the *Aesop* three types are used: the two larger are the same as those used in 1498 by G. Husner. The largest has an additional C: the second is also used by J. Pryss (type 6). The third and smallest type appears to be identical with one used by J. Grüninger (type 3), H. Quentell at Cologne (Ennen's type 4), and by J. Pryss

(type 8). In the *Boethius* the same types are used, but the second form of C does not appear. This, however, may easily be accidental. In the *Exercitium* the two larger types are the same, but the smallest is identical with that used in the 1491 edition of the same book printed at Hagenau, by H. Gran, of which this edition is a reprint. This also seems identical with Grüninger's type 6, and Pryss's type 10. It has an open U, like Flach's two text types (3 and 4). As used by Grüninger this type has usually a cross-barred U mixed with it, and Pryss generally used it mixed with his type 8; but this is not universal. The largest type is also the same as that used by H. Gran in the 1491 edition, and the middle type of the latter seems to be the same as Pryss's type 2, used in 1486-87. If the large type of these books could be connected with Pryss, all would be clear; but this cannot be done, and the point must for the present remain unsettled.

Hitherto, the general characteristics of the woodcuts considered have been the same, the difference between them consisting in the minor details. We now come to examine those whose only connection is the similarity of the general scheme, the larger features of the design showing wide variations.

B. *Arnold of Cologne at Leipzig.*

A very rudely worked cut, in which the master's desk is in the centre, having a seat and canopy almost at right angles to it. The desk has an upright lid with a strap across, in which are fastened three papers. A paper-knife lies on the desk above the book, of which the left page is almost blank. The master wears a flat cap and has a large halo. The only window is that at the back of the room;

through it is seen a church spire. Two minute pupils with unprepossessing features are seated on wooden blocks at the master's feet: they have no books. The ribbon containing the legend curls down the right side of the cut: Accipies tāti

CUT B.

doc- ‖ toris ‖ dogmata ‖ ſcti. ‖ The floor is not chequered, but has the appearance of being strewn with rushes.

This cut is used at Leipzig, by Arnold of Cologne, in two books, both without date, but about 1500. One is the *Pharetra fidei catholice* (Hain, *12913), the other is the *Tractatus de summo*

bono of Isidore of Seville (Hain, *9287, Muther, *op. cit.* p. 97, No. 697).

C. *Johann von Amerbach at Basle* (?).

The doctor is seated at a small desk in a hall paved with square stones, with a door in the background. His cap is taller than in the other cuts,

CUT C.

and his halo stands out prominently against the canopy of the desk which is left black. The dove on his shoulder also has a halo. The text of the book before him is indicated not by dots, but by

lines. A book rests at the foot of the desk, near which are the two pupils. One holds an open book, the other, who wears a cap and feather, holds a calculating board. The large ribbon runs horizontally across the cut and then returns for some distance. The legend runs thus: Accipies ‖ tanti doc ‖ toris dogmata fanc ‖ ti. ‖ The *i* is undotted throughout. This cut is found on the title of *Textus et Copulata omnium Tractatuum Petri Hyspani*, dated 15th June 1494, and printed with three types used by Johann von Amerbach at Basle (Hain, *8705; Moser, *l.c.*, No. 4). Too much stress must not be laid on this use of the types, as the same types were used at Nürnberg by Ant. Koberger at about the same time. The edition immediately preceding this in Hain, which also has the *Accipies* cut, and the date, 30th April 1493, is printed in the type of H. Quentell.

D. *Strassburg* (?).

This is a woodcut which differs from all the others described here, in having four scholars instead of two. The arrangement of the desk and the book is also quite distinctive, and the long curls of the master's hair differentiate him from the much older men represented elsewhere. The legend which reads thus: Accipies . tāti . ‖ doctoris . dog ‖ mata . fancti. ‖ in three divisions, is cut on a ribbon which is almost horizontal. This woodcut is found in the *Sermones dormi secure*, printed in 1500 (Hain, *15966). The printer is uncertain, but the larger type was used by J. von Amerbach in 1497. Possibly Strassburg was the place of printing.

E. *Melchior Lotter at Leipzig.*

One variety of the *Accipies* cut is found in the hands of Melchior Lotter at Leipzig. It is used

in an edition of the *Doctrinale* of Alexander Gallus in 1498 (Hain, *739), and in 1500 for the *Aequivoca* of J. de Garlandia (Hain, *7486). This latter is described by Nentwig, *Die Wiegendrucke in der Stadtbibliothek zu Braunschweig*, No. 166. According to his description, there are two pupils, and

CUT D.

the motto reads: Accipies tāti doctoris dogmata sancti. The spelling *tāti* occurs in B and D, but B has *ſcti* and D has four pupils, while the arrangement of stops at the end is different from any of the other varieties. There can be little doubt that this is another form of the cut; whether it belongs

to class A, or whether it has affinities to the other Leipzig form, B, I am unable, not having seen any example, to say.

The above are all the varieties of which I am at present aware; but the wide popularity of the *Accipies* motive makes it almost certain that there are several others as yet undistinguished, which a more exhaustive and accurate knowledge will bring to light.

ROBERT PROCTOR.

LA BIBLIOPHILIE MODERNE: SES ORIGINES, SES ÉTAPES, SES FORMES ACTUELLES

LA Mode qui aura joué un rôle si considérable dans les idées, les opinions, les théories de notre dix-neuvième siècle, cette mode tyrannique dont, tour à tour, les sciences, la politique, la médecine, l'esthétique ont subi et subissent encore la direction variée, incohérente et fantaisiste; la mode, dont le sceptre est une girouette et qui se couvre malicieusement

du masque du progrès pour influencer les masses, la mode, Reine des femmes et Impératrice des passions de la foule, a eu également sur le goût et l'amour des livres une action puissante qui est en voie de métamorphoser singulièrement le commerce de la librairie tant en France qu'à l'Étranger.

On peut dire que, depuis le dix-septième siècle jusqu'à notre milieu de siècle, la Bibliophilie fut plus particulièrement rétrospective ; on aima les livres par curiosité et aussi par goût pour l'histoire de l'esprit humain ; on les rechercha comme des témoins bien conservés et charactéristiques d'un passé glorieux, on eut quelqu'orgueil à faire valoir leurs provenances ; on les voulut habillés de ce vieux maroquin poli par le temps et dont les teintes passées, harmonieuses, font valoir plus encore l'éclat des ors ou la splendeur des armoiries des grands amateurs de jadis.

On les collectionna avec sagesse, méthode et autant de prudence qu'ils furent imprimés par les Antoine Vérard, les Colard Mansion, les Alde, les Vascosan et autre maîtres de la Typographie primitive ; on ne recueillit que les œuvres ayant subi les contre-épreuves de la postérité, et à côté des *Psautier* de Mayence, des *Bible* de Strasbourg, des *Homère*, des *Virgile*, des *Arioste*, des *Aulu-Gelle*, du *Songe de Polyphile*, on rechercha avec un grand souci de lettré les chroniqueurs et les conteurs, Monstrelet et Boccace, Froissard et Rabelais.

C'est ainsi que se formèrent les grandes Bibliothèques célèbres, celles qui consacrèrent les noms des Grolier, des Canevarius et de cette admirable lignée d'amateurs, depuis Colbert jusqu'à La Vallière, Nodier, Lebeuf de Mongermont, Yemeniz, et tant d'autres. Il y eut évidemment des Modes parmi ces générations successives de Bibliophiles,

il y eut des engouements tantôt pour les Incunables, tantôt pour les classiques Grecs et Latins, tantôt pour les conteurs Italiens et Espagnols, tantôt pour les éditions originales de nos génies dramatiques du dix-septième siècle ou pour les auteurs badins du dix-huitième superbement illustrés par les Eisen, les Gravelot, les Moreau de Jeune, les Monnet ou les Duplessis Berteaux ; mais ces modes se portèrent presque toujours sur des publications d'époques antérieures et rarement elles affectèrent des ouvrages contemporains.

L'histoire de la Bibliophilie a été frequemment écrite sous diverses formes et d'après de multiples programmes, mais je ne crois point qu'elle ait jamais été étudiée au point de vue exclusif de la variation dans les idées et les goûts des amateurs, ni qu'un érudit se soit encore appliqué à rechercher la part de vanité, d'ostentation, de snobisme, qui à toutes les époques se sont confondues dans l'apparente passion des Livres. Ce serait pourtant un des côtés de l'histoire qu'il serait amusant de mettre en lumière dans un sens philosophique et il ne nous serait pas indifférent de pouvoir constater qu'au dix-septième siècle, non moins qu'au dix-huitième siècle et de nos jours, les grands collectionneurs de Livres ne furent pas toujours des connaisseurs éclairés, des savants impeccables et que, parmi eux, il y eut en assez grand nombre de faux croyants et d'incurables ignorants qui, par genre, pour se mettre au rang des hommes de qualité, formèrent, avec l'aide de secrétaires distingués, d'importantes Bibliothèques dans le goût du jour, avec l'unique préoccupation de paraître et de briller aux yeux de leurs contemporains.

La Revue des femmes futiles et des reines de la main gauche qui laissèrent après elles des Biblio-

thèques savamment préparées et soignées suffirait à démontrer quel fut naguère l'empire de la mode parmi les courtisans et les courtisanes des régimes disparus. Chaque époque a connu, en Bibliophilie comme en toute autre chose, ses emballements irraisonnés, ses raretés surfaites et ses poussées vers une même catégorie d'éditions ou un même genre de littérature. L'histoire des variations dans le goût des livres ne pourrait s'étayer que sur l'histoire des modes, des mœurs et des idées en France ; car tout s'y modèle ou s'y transforme selon la mobilité de l'esthétique, qui, à vrai dire, change ou se modifie plus de quatre fois par siècle.

Il ne m'appartient pas en ces quelques pages de causerie de faire le sommaire ou le précis de cette étude curieuse, mais je dois indiquer, au début de ces pages sur la Bibliophilie contemporaine, que, si la mode a accéleré ses changements au cours de ce siècle torrentueux, nos predécesseurs dûrent, dans des proportions moindres, compter avec elle et que nous ne sommes ni meilleurs ni pires assurément que nos devanciers.

La Bibliophilie Moderne qui indique à peine son mouvement d'évolution, et qui commence à mettre en discrédit le livre ancien si longtemps adulé, envié et accueilli avec dévotion dans les bibliothèques,—cette Bibliophilie nouvelle qui attire sur elle l'attention, qui, déjà, formule ses lois, expose ses ambitions, exprime son art et qui fait sourire de pitié les Bibliophiles *vieux style*, cette rénovatrice possède en elle à la fois la jeunesse, la raison, l'esprit d'aventure et d'initiative. Elle est destinée à vaincre tous les obstacles, toutes les oppositions, car elle intéresse directement les hommes par l'art, l'ingéniosité, la recherche des procédés

nouveaux et même par l'agio qui s'attache à ses productions. Elle a pour elle le présent et l'avenir, car elle prétend rompre avec les traditions et les routines, donner aux auteurs de ce temps une typographie, ainsi que des expressions et des formes contemporaines, et affirmer sa suprématie par des œuvres qui ne seront inférieures à aucune de ces éditions trop idolatrées des quinzième, seizième, et dix-huitième siècles.

La Bibliophilie Moderne, telle que je la puis apprécier en France dans ses manifestations actuelles, vaut d'être envisagée rapidement tant au point de vue de son origine et de ses tendances qu'à celui des adeptes qu'elle a formés et des arts qu'elle doit créer.

II

Durant les quarante premières années de ce siècle, il n'y eut en France aucun effort voulu, cherché, aucune préoccupation artistique du livre spécialement exécuté pour une élite d'amateurs et de curieux. Sous l'Empire et sous la Restauration, on imprima 'des horreurs' d'un style néo-gothique ou néo-grec, sans aucun intérêt ni dans la typographie, ni dans les illustrations généralement fades et médiocres. Le goût romantique succéda à ces productions composites, et, sauf quelques eaux-fortes ou lithographies de Nanteuil, quelques vignettes sur bois plutôt extravagantes que vraiment originales, on ne vit pas, de 1830 à 1840, sortir dix ouvrages vraiment hors ligne des presses Parisiennes. Les publications de 1830 ne sont recommandables que par la laideur de leur expression d'ensemble, par la fragilité et la rugosité de leur papier de coton, par l'excessive dimension des *blancs*

et des marges et par la prétentieuse recherche de la bizarrerie dans le caractère d'impression. Peu ou point d'art dans les ornements décoratifs, les frontispices et les couvertures. Mais la Folie humaine ne perd jamais ses droits et les premières publications de Victor Hugo, de Musset, de Théophile Gautier, de Pétrus Borel, eurent leur heure de succès et de folles enchères, malgré le néant de leur beauté ou de leur valeur intrinsèque.

En 1840 apparut enfin une génération d'éditeurs qui, sans songer au Bibliophiles proprement dits, s'efforcèrent avec succès de ramener l'art et le goût dans la confection du livre—les Curmer, les Bourdin, les Perrotin, les Janet, les Lubochet, les Hetzel s'inspirant peut-être, à vrai dire, de certaines publications du stylé *keepsake* des Anglais, mirent au jour coup sur coup de superbes ouvrages, demeurés depuis lors célèbres, et qui, après avoir été dépréciés, vendus presqu'au poids du papier, furent depuis quinze ans recherchés avec passion. Tel est le destin des choses de ce monde, et les éditions du *Paul et Virginie* de Johannot, du *Gil Blas* de Gigoux, du *Jérome Paturot* et des *Œuvres choisies* de Gavarni, sans oublier les *Français et les Anglais peints par eux mêmes*, ont eu à subir les influences des modes et la loi des tardives appréciations. Aujourd'hui ils sont consacrés.

De 1840 à 1850 ce mouvement rénovateur dans l'édition française s'accentua, puis décrut; ce fut Poulet-Malassis qui vint souder un nouvel anneau à la chaîne historique de notre librairie d'art et poser véritablement les assises de la Bibliophilie Moderne.

Le nombre des livres publiés par A. Poulet-Malassis n'est pas très important et le luxe des publications sorties de sa boutique du Passage

des Princes n'affecte pas une allure anormale et splendide; à peine quelques jolis frontispices à l'eau forte, des titres rouge et noir et une typographie soignée et élégante. Mais, au moins, Malassis inaugurait une manière en éditant d'une façon correcte et déjà raffinée les auteurs les plus audacieux du temps. Il mettait Baudelaire en vedette, à côté de Banville, de Théophile Gautier, de Leconte de Lisle, de Vitu, de Glatigny et de vingt autres poëtes et prosateurs de premier ordre, ouvrant ainsi à la littérature d'art un asile, créant un mouvement, inaugurant la théorie des *Pauci sed electi*, qui fut depuis si chère aux vrais lettrés et à tous les nouveaux colligeurs de livres.

Malassis disparut, fit faillite, devint bibliographe, mais peu importe, il avait semé une idée qui par la suite fut reprise ni sans passion ni sans grand goût, par Alphonse Lemerre, lequel devint l'éditeur des *Parnassiens* et le publicateur des anciens poëtes de la Pléiade, depuis Ronsard jusqu'à Du Bellay, depuis Du Bellay jusqu'à Clément Marot.

Jouaust apparut alors, fondant cette *librairie des Bibliophiles* qui, durant près de vingt ans publia avec des procédés d'illustration à l'eau-forte presque tous les chefs-d'œuvres de notre littérature en édition à petit nombre, avec tirages spéciaux sur grand papier, sur chine et sur Whatman (le Japon vint plus tard). La Bibliophilie Moderne avait une base et toute une génération d'amateurs naquit alors en France et aussi à l'etranger. Des éditeurs sortaient de toute part, après la guerre Franco-Allemande, et les publications de luxe foisonnèrent vers 1880 avec une si grande abondance que la débâcle prévue arriva, la production dépassant la consommation. Il ne resta plus que les prudents et les avisés; les Quantin, les Launette, les

Conquet, les Testard et quelques autres, qui depuis se manifestèrent avec quelques œuvres de goût.

Mais de tant d'efforts réunis, de si nombreuses tentatives pour la mise en exploitation réglée de l'amour des livres, il ne s'était dégagé que fort peu d'œuvres vraiment originales et exprimant un désir de sortir du convenu et du déjà fait. Beaucoup d'imitation, peu de nouveau et d'inédit dans la physionomie des livres de ce temps ; à peine de ci, de là, quelques publications sortant du moule uniforme, une assez grande méfiance du public pour les procédés d'Innovation. Il fallut combattre l'apathie générale, prêcher la croisade contre la routine et l'éternel recommencement. La Revue *Le Livre*, puis le *Livre Moderne* s'y employèrent avec ardeur, mais les Bibliophiles de la vieille garde résistèrent longtemps, refusant de se rendre a l'évidence, protestant, défendant les vieux us, bien qu'ils sentissent l'édifice crouler de toute part. De jeunes amateurs par contre se formaient, épousant avec ardeur les idées nouvelles, sentant le besoin de créer enfin du dix-neuvième siècle, de sortir des règles étroites de la typographie, de renover la gravure et d'apporter dans la décoration extérieure des livres une esthétique appropriée à nos conceptions actuelles, au lieu de recopier les reliures des Le Gascon, des Duseuil, des Dérome et des Thouvenin. On peut dire aujourd'hui que la victoire se dessine en faveur des modernistes ; *soyons contemporains !* est le mot du jour ; les ventes des livres du siècle obtiennent de retentissantes enchères et, tandis que se termine, non sans inquiétude, la vente de Lignerolles, l'un des derniers Bibliophiles de grande marque des anciens régimes, le libraire Morgand, le Quaritch parisien, naguère le rempart des livres d'antan et des vieux maroquins,

déclare à tout venant qu'il se consacre au moderne et que les temps sont proches où les Aldes, les Vascosan, les Plantin les plus extraordinaires seront délaissés pour les grands beaux livres de ces dernières années, enrichis de dessins originaux et vêtus d'un habit mosaïque fleuri ou ciselé à la mode du jour.

III

La Bibliophilie Moderne a pour s'exercer un champ presqu'illimité, car il appartient à chaque amateur de choisir sa voie parmi les innombrables chemins dont son domaine est sillonné. La production littéraire de ce temps est si abondante que chacun rêve de parures hors ligne pour ses auteurs préférés ; c'est à qui cherchera des éditions à larges marges sur fort papier de Hollande ou d'Angleterre pour les faire illustrer à grands frais par les artistes aquarellistes et les maîtres illustrateurs de ce temps.

On abandonne les génies de l'humanité pour s'occuper de mettre en valeur les textes de Flaubert, de Zola, de Daudet, de Loti, de Maupassant, qui nous causèrent de si exquises ou de si profondes sensations intellectuelles. De celui-ci, on choisit une nouvelle considérée comme chef-d'œuvre ; de celui-là, on extrait un conte qu'on aime à l'égal d'une perle rare, de tel autre, on élague l'œuvre parasite et l'on forme ainsi, de ci de là, des Bibliothèques choisies, raffinées, qui, si elles ne contiennent pas tout l'élite des productions de ce jour, offrent au moins une sélection intéressante et conforme à la fantaisie ou au goût de son propriétaire. Nous ne pouvons encore voir et juger ce que cette façon de faire pourra produire et léguer à nos descendants, mais en tout cas la tentative est

heureuse; elle encourage les jeunes artistes et les enrichit quelquefois; elle forme des petits Mécènes et crée un nombre considérable de livres uniques et originaux qui sont et seront fort amusants à regarder et pourront inspirer et documenter les éditeurs de l'avenir tentés de fournir une réimpression de tel ou tel de nos romanciers ou conteurs, si tant est qu'ils survivent aux engouements actuels.

Les Bibliophiles modernes se sont enfin rendu compte, après le déluge de nouvelles éditions qui se sont succédé et qui, toutes, reproduisaient, depuis vingt ans, les œuvres de Sterne, de l'Abbé Prévost, de Voltaire ou de J. J. Rousseau, qu'on ne peut être vraiment documenté que sur son propre temps, et, que tenter des reconstitutions des époques disparues pour mettre en scène *Manon Lescaut*, ou *Clarisse Harlowe*, le *Voyage Sentimental* ou *Candide*, les *Confessions*, ou toute autre œuvre du siècle dernier, est une singulière folie qui n'aboutit jamais qu'à des à peu près d'illustration.

On a donc abandonné peu à peu toutes les publications rétrospectives qui n'ont été que trop souvent éditées sous tous les formats possibles, et lentement le Bibliophile s'est appris à ne plus s'enthousiasmer pour les textes gothiques illisibles, les volumes primitifs des séries classiques. Il a eu la notion de la valeur de son milieu, de la curiosité des choses parmi lesquelles il se meut. Il a alors négligé les anciens textes pour les nouveaux, et tous les Bibliophiles des générations montantes ont emboîté et emboîteront plus fermement encore le pas dans un avenir assez prompt. La fortune des vieux livres se trouve ainsi ramenée à des conditions plus normales, c'est une loi générale en art moderne, et les prix atteints par les Meissonier ou les Millet

dépassent depuis vingt ans, on le sait, ceux des plus beaux Titien ou des plus éclatants Véronèse.

Parmi ces cinquante dernières années, les modernes amateurs qui aiment et recherchent ce que l'on nomme *la curiosité* ont d'amples moissons à espérer faire parmi la foisonnante production littéraire et artistique de ce temps, au milieu de laquelle figurent des journaux satiriques et illustrés, des brochures, des pamphlets, des revues, des plaquettes de toute nature. Ils pensent dans cette agglomération découvrir des pièces étonnantes, former des collections qui serviront à l'histoire de la littérature et préparer ainsi le travail de la postérité, lorsqu'il s'agira de se débrouiller au milieu du chaos que les chûtes successives de feuilles imprimées auront créé dans les archives publiques.

La seule désignation des livres à rechercher, des études à tenter, des chemins à tracer parmi les montagnes d'imprimés de la seconde moitié de ce siècle formerait un livre fort abondant, car tout est encore à faire, Bibliographies, index, catalogues, groupements ! nous nous dirigeons encore à tâtons et en trébuchant au milieu des ruines littéraires de la veille, pourquoi nous aviserions nous aujourd'hui, de nous préoccuper des époques où Diderot, Voltaire, Corneille, Montaigne et Shakespeare régnèrent? Les siècles passés sont sillonnés d'investigation ; le nôtre, le siècle de Hugo, est encore en friche ; Bibliographes et Bibliophiles ont donc le devoir de ne plus s'attarder aux vagabondages lointains, mais de se mettre à la besogne en colligeant et recueillant les livres rares et curieux publiés de 1800 à nos jours. Les éditeurs les aideront d'autant plus volontiers qu'ils sentent dans l'air ce renouveau du goût public. On fut naguère indulgent aux tendances rétrospectives des Libraires,

mais le moment actuel leur est plus inclément—l'éditeur de livre de luxe ou d'érudition doit aujourd'hui, pour être suivi par les amateurs et les lettrés, produire des livres essentiellement modernes et exprimant, sinon des formes nouvelles, du moins des recherches vers des procédés inédits.

Chaque génération a son type, son expression, sa formule, dans le livre aussi bien qu'ailleurs; nous avons eu bibliophiliquement différents âges en ces dernières soixante années; l'âge du bois gravé, puis l'âge de l'acier, celui de la gravure sur pierre ou lithographie, celui de l'eau forte très maniérée; nous sortons à peine de l'âge du zinc et de la photogravure en relief et en creux. La loi des transformations nous impose une nouvelle méthode —nous ne saurions dire ce qu'elle sera, mais tout nous fait pressentir que l'effort se portera vers l'illustration en couleur dominant avec gaieté et éclat la monotonie noire des pages typographiées. La couleur doit triompher dans la décoration moderne des livres, elle doit éclater avec fantaisie et idéalismé, non pas en s'efforçant de se rapprocher de la nature et de l'interprêter servilement et photographiquement, mais, au contraire, en s'en éloignant, en demeurant dans la convention, dans une sorte de vague imagerie irréelle, avec des transpositions hardies de tons aussi 'que font les Japonais.' C'est de l'extrême orient que nous sont venus nos nouvelles théories de perspective dans l'art, c'est également de là que nous viendront des exemples de mises en couleurs à la fois harmonieuses et franchement opposées.

Déjà la chromotypographie a cherché à s'emparer de la vogue réservée aux ouvrages polychromes, mais elle n'a réussi qu'à moitié. Les aquarelles obtenues par le repérage typographique, outre

qu'elles sont fort coûteuses, sont forcément uniformes de valeur dans une même feuille tirée; de plus, quel que soit l'habileté des découpages, la finesse de la gravure, la précision du repérage, l'aspect général est froid et imparfait, on y sent le procédé brutal, la platitude forcée des reliefs et l'éclat fatigant des encres grasses d'imprimerie. Les couleurs à l'eau employées sur des papiers sans colle, à la façon des Japonais, offriraient certainement un aspect infiniment plus mate et plus conforme à notre idéal; avec une addition d'alun et de glycérine, elles donneraient l'illusion de véritable aquarelles se jouant dans les marges et mourant sur la masse serrée du texte, mais la routine s'impose aux imprimeurs et comme depuis Gutenberg on imprime à l'huile, l'impulsion les force à continuer.

La gravure en couleur en creux, par gravure sur cuivre à la teinte, à la manière noire au burin ou à la pointe sèche, donnera, pensons nous, des résultats merveilleux, lorsque les aqua-fortistes modernes s'appliqueront à etudier la décomposition des couleurs par planches successives et répérées, à la manière de Debucourt et des maîtres anglais du dix-huitieme siècle. Déjà beaucoup s'y sont appliqués, mais d'une façon maniérée, avec trop de travail de pointe et une originalité insuffisante—ici encore on a imité les anciens, on a prétendu faire de la reconstitution ou du fac-simile d'aquarelle. Ce n'est point du tout la voie de la chromo-gravure, qui ne peut devenir intéressante et personnelle qu'entre les mains des peintres graveurs et non des interprètes, eussent ils l'habileté de l'excellent graveu Gaujean.

Ce qu'il faut saisir dans cette rénovation de la gravu en couleur, c'est la vie contemporaine avec

son frémissement d'activité et sa puissance brutale, ce qu'il faut rendre, ce n'est point de mièvres sujets de genre dans le style des Delort ou des Kemmerer, évoquant des scènes d'opéra comique ou des peintures sentimentales, mais la vie prise sur le fait, dans le décor même où elle évolue; ce sont nos types, nos mœurs, notre façon d'être qu'il faut peindre; ce sont nos misères, nos plaisirs, nos repos, ce sont nos quartiers pauvres, nos cythères et nos campagnes, et tout cela demande à être traité d'une façon large, grasse, vigoureuse par de vrais artistes sûrs de leur dessin et de leur métier. Tout fait supposer que ce siècle ne s'achèvera pas sans que quelques beaux livres ne soient supérieurement illustrés par des planches de maîtres peintres exécutées dans le sens que j'indique.

La chromo-lithographie en couleur, imprimée sans vernis, avec les simples tubes à l'huile employés par les peintres pour leurs tableaux, donnera également de très brillantes illustrations. La lithographie en noir, quels qu'aient pu êfre les efforts tentés pour la ressusciter, n'a aucune chance de revivre dans la décoration du livre. Elle est toujours terne, grise et le grain même le plus moelleux que donne la pierre ne peut arriver à se marier à la netteté typographique. Dans la lithographie en couleur, par pierres se repérant, l'effet obtenu est toujours harmonieux, vaporeux, léger dans un second plan très délicat, qui convient admirablement à l'entourage du texte. Dans cet art nouveau, tout est à faire—un jeune peintre lithographe M. Lunois a déjà exécuté des ornementations encore inédites, qui sont d'un goût exquis. Il faut penser qu'il fera école et que d'autres amoureux du dessin sur pierre le suivront sur cette voie ouverte à tous.

Ce qui a vécu également, c'est la gravure médiocre

ou banale, le froid burin, la maigre pointe sèche des interprêtes que des éditeurs comme Conquet et autres sont les derniers à patroner, par impuissance de faire autre chose. La gravure des peintres-graveurs apporte seule une expression d'art et offre un intérêt pour l'amateur ; l'autre ne signifie que peu de chose, c'est une plate adaptation où il manque toujours l'âme de l'artiste créateur.

C'est à ces procédés de seconde main que nous devons une grand partie des livres de Bibliophile qui ont paru depuis vingt ans chez Jouaust, et chez les tous petits libraires qui ont imité sa façon d'opérer à la portée de tout le monde. L'heure enfin approche où les acheteurs moins ignorants des questions d'art réclameront autre chose que des images sans caractère et où la fonction d'éditeur ne sera plus à la portée des premiers négociants venus. Je me flatte du moins de cette clairvoyance et je veux espérer que si la grosse librairie peut être gérée par des hommes de flair, à l'esprit ouvert et suffisamment lettré, l'autre, la librairie d'exception et de luxe, ne pourra plus, d'ici vingt ans, être conduite que par des artistes chercheurs, intuitifs, connaisseurs de tous les trucs et de tous les procédés, capables non seulement de diriger, mais de suggestionner les décorateurs qu'ils emploieront. Aux entrepreneurs succéderont les Mécènes éclairés ; la librairie aura sa renaissance, ses François I., ses Léon X., et ses Médicis.

Tout est à faire dans la fabrication même du livre, tout est à tenter, depuis le papier qui se traîne dans une lamentable état de rengaine, et pour lequel on ne cherche point de nouveau, jusqu'à la forme des caractères qui s'est arrêtée à la conception du type connu sous le nom de Didot chez nous. Les Américains et les Anglais font plus d'efforts pour sortir

du convenu ; ils créent chaque jour des types encore inédits, des fantaisies typographiques ; les journaux spéciaux, qui abondent, nous montrent que les fonderies de caractères se remuent, que les photograveurs se multiplient, que tous les arts du livre s'agitent dans une incessante préoccupation de mieux faire. Cela est consolant, car d'où que vienne le progrès il vaut le salut et la reconnaissance des hommes ; le patriotisme ne peut apporter ici sa vanité étroite ; ainsi que sur tous les champs de batailles, la victoire est aux plus habiles, aux plus remuants aux mieux doués pour la lutte : *vae victis !* malheur aux optimistes! La philosophie du Docteur Pangloss ne convient pas aux nations. Tout n'est pas pour le mieux dans le meilleur des mondes, ce serait une loi de stagnation et de stérilité ; le progressiste lui, est plus pessimiste, il croit au mal pour espérer le mieux, et dans la marche de l'humanité il n'est point prouvé que le mieux soit toujours l'ennemi du bien.

IV

Le Bibliophile Moderne peu à peu a formé son éducation ; il n'est pas encore fort au courant de toutes les sciences techniques du livre ; il se rend très imparfaitement compte des difficultés vaincues, des obstacles surmontés, mais il sait apprécier le résultat. Son sens est affiné ; il va d'instinct à ce qui est beau, il apprécie la nouveauté et se déclare las des livres imagés de gravures hors texte sans originalité. Il conçoit fort bien qu'un beau volume contemporain ne doit pas être seulement un ouvrage d'une correcte typographie avec, de ci de là, tous les deux ou trois chapitres, une estampe brochée sur onglet, mais il entend que livre et illustration s'epou-

sent plus légitimement, que le mariage soit plus étroit, plus amoureux, plus complet ; que le bloc soit fondu, entremêlé, indissolublement lié ; le texte embrassant les vignettes et les vignettes se confondant avec le caractère dans une entente agréable à l'œil, où rien ne choque, ni la hauteur de page, ni la blancheur de l'interligne, ni la dimension des marges, ni même l'irrégularité et la mise au rancart des vieilles lois et règles de la typographie classique.

Bien que des libraires en vogue aient fait le possible pour pousser le Bibliophile contemporain vers la banalité courante et les publications à type régulier, celui-ci a passé outre et ne s'est plus laissé conduire ; les artistes expressifs l'ont séduit, les graveurs originaux ont eu son approbation et l'on peut être assuré de trouver, à l'heure présente, deux ou trois cents amateurs en France pour appuyer de leur crédit et de leurs bourses toute publication d'art même ésotérique et hermétique, dont le programme leur serait confié à l'avance.

Pour la reliure, le progrès est non moins appréciable ; depuis quinze ans, toute une révolution s'est opérée dans la bibliopégie, et le fameux Trautz Bauzonnet qui fit l'admiration de plusieurs générations par ses décorations poncives et qui n'ont pour elles que la perfection du métier, n'exciterait assurément plus aujourd'hui l'enthousiasme à un même dégré. L'amateur est plus exigeant ; il ne réclame pas comme naguère sur les plats de ses volumes de modestes filets, de sinueux entrelacs, de timides arabesques, tout cela est bien pâlot en dépit des fanfares de dorures qui peuvent éclater sur le poli des maroquins. Il demande pour ses plats et ses dos une décoration moins géometrique et plus conforme à la nature ; les mosaïques polychromes l'ont conquis ; il exige des fleurs hardiment jetées en

travers du livre, des oiseaux posés sur des branches fleuries, des allégories ingénueusement conçues, des motifs empruntés à l'art grec ou au style Pompéïen; il recherche la soie de ses gardes, la disposition de ses doublures; il n'hésite pas parfois à faire graver ses petits fers et il sourit de la simplicité de nos prédécesseurs qui, il n'y a pas dix ans encore, nous parlaient avec emphase de leurs dentelles intérieures, de leurs roulettes et de leurs huit à dix filets parallèles. Comme tout cela est déjà loin de nous, et combien supérieurs à leurs prédécesseurs, aux Bozerian, aux Thouvenin, aux Lortic sont aujourd'hui les Charles Meunier, les Marius-Michel et les Pierre Ruban, sans parler des décorateurs plus fantaisistes qui s'apprêtent à entrer en scène, comme les Victor Prouvé, qui paraissent vouloir créer des ornementations surprenantes, mais dont le côté métier laisse encore beaucoup à désirer.

Pour nous résumer, on peut dire que l'art du livre sort à peine de la torpeur et de la routine que lui laissait suivre docilement une tradition trop mesquine; cet art s'éveille, et, ainsi que tous les autres arts décoratifs, il est appelé à marcher hardiment en avant durant les dernières années qui nous séparent de 1900. Il poussera avec une surabondance de sève nouvelle avant que de disparâitre sous la fatalité des inventions qui se préparent.

Quelle sera l'état de la Bibliophilie en 1950? L'art de l'impression existera-t-il encore à cette date et le phonographe aidé du *Kinétographe* que l'ingénieux Edison me faisait voir il y a six mois à Orange Park, près de New Jersey, ne remplacera-t-il pas le papier imprimé et l'illustration avec quelqu'avantage?

Personne ne songe encore à s'inquiéter de cette atteinte mortelle dont les métiers graphiques sont

menacés, mais il n'est pas trop fantaisiste de prévoir la mise en désuétude de l'invention de Gutenberg, et ce n'est pas faire un paradoxe que de dire que peut-être nous sommes les derniers Bibliophiles modernes ; nos fils, sinon nos petits neveux écouteront sans doute sur un cylindre phonographique les phrases de nos littérateurs qu'ils ne liront plus, et, par un retour de toutes choses, les rouleaux pour phonographes joueront un rôle analogue à celui que jouèrent les trouvères du treizième siècle, qui portaient partout l'esprit de nos chansons et les héroïques récits de nos épopées.

OCTAVE UZANNE.

PORQUEROLLES, 10 *Janvier* 1894.

THOINAN'S LES RELIEURS FRANÇAIS

LES relieurs français 1500-1800 by M. Ernest Thoinan, is, on the whole, the most important contribution to the History of Binding that has been made for many years. Before its appearance, M. Gruel's *Manuel historique et alphabétique* might fairly lay claim to that position. It was, indeed, the first attempt to put on anything like a scientific basis, the information concerning binders and their craft that is to be found scattered up and down the many books about books for which the French have always been famous.

In France bibliographical gossip has ever met with a ready reception, and the outsides of books have proved almost as interesting as their insides; but the works are few in number that give the results of serious research on the subject. When we have mentioned M. Leroux de Lincy's *Jean Grolier, sa vie et sa bibliothèque*, M. Quentin Bauchart's *Les femmes bibliophiles de France*, and MM. Marius-Michel's *La reliure française*, we have named all before M. Gruel's book that repay study.

M. Thoinan's work is of a very different order to any of the above named, and is for the most part based upon documentary evidence contained in the records of the Guild of Booksellers, with which the craft of Binders was incorporated up to the end of the seventeenth century.

These documents were made use of both by La

Caille and Lottin, by the former in his *Histoire de l'Imprimerie et de la Librairie*, 1689, and by the latter in his *Catalogue chronologique des Libraires et des Libraires-Imprimeurs de Paris*, 1789. Neither of the authors, however, being interested in binding, they made no distinction between the two trades, and the binder was confused with the bookseller. The records in question are in the Bibliothèque Nationale, but there are also others in the Library of the Hôtel Carnavalet, which likewise contains the official lists issued yearly throughout the eighteenth century by the Binders and Gilders, after they formed a corporation of their own. With this groundwork M. Thoinan has made an attempt, and a thoroughly successful one, to take the history of binders and binding out of the sphere of book-lovers' gossip and unexplained hypotheses, and to confine it to the facts for which there is undoubted authority. What the subject henceforth loses in romance it more than gains in historical truth. In this notice we shall point out the new ground which M. Thoinan's researches have enabled him to cover, and the assumptions which, repeated without authority by writer after writer, he at length firmly discards.

The book consists of three distincts parts:—an account of the corporation of the Bookbinders and Gilders of the city of Paris; a brief, but very comprehensive, study of the different historical styles of binding, with illustrative plates and descriptive notes; and a biographical section, arranged in alphabetical order. The first part gives a full and detailed account of the history of the trade from its earliest times, an account never attempted succinctly before. Here we meet with much fresh information, particularly in the chronicle of the

vicissitudes the craft went through before it attained to final independence at the time of the Revolution.

From a very early date no one in Paris could pursue any craft which had relation to books without license from the University, which exercised complete control, but on the other hand obtained for this body of workers certain prerogatives, such as immunities from taxation, from providing a guard-contingent and the like.

The earliest statutes of the University date from 1275, but for long afterwards they make no distinction between binders and others engaged in bookmaking. In 1401, without any attempt at emancipation from the guidance of the University, the booksellers, binders, writers, illuminators, and parchment makers formed themselves into a confraternity, connected with the church of St. André-des-Arcs, and under the patronage of St. John the Baptist.

In 1467 the book business was no longer in a flourishing condition, and Louis XI. was solicited for permission to modify the money regulations of the community, the members being unable to afford the necessary payments for masses. At the same time, the king, wanting to create a national guard, caused all the trades to be represented in companies with a semi-military equipment, each under a banner of its own. With the introduction of printing the whole business of bookmaking naturally emerged from the stagnation made evident by the petition of 1467, and in 1488 the increase of workers necessitated an edict of Charles VIII., limiting the number of those engaged in the production of books, who, being under the protection of the University, enjoyed an immunity from taxation. Louis XII., in his patronage of art and

letters, specially exempted them, in 1513, from a war subsidy that was being raised, from various other impositions, and from all duties connected with the protection of the city except in cases of extreme danger. This liberal protection was confirmed by François I. and renewed by Henri II. and Charles IX.

During the reign of Henri II., in 1549, a sumptuary law was passed, and in 1577 its provisions were extended so as to affect binders. The edict of that year forbade, among other things, any gilding on leather except in the service of princes or the church, and, with regard to books, specially set forth, 'that it was permitted to gild the leaves simply, and to have only a gold line on the covers with a centre-piece not bigger than a franc at most.'

Like other similar efforts at sumptuary legislation, the edict of 1577 does not seem to have had the slightest effect, for it was actually at this time that there arose that elaborate style of book-ornamentation, with which, rightly or wrongly, the name of Nicholas Eve has always been associated. In 1582, in consequence of difficulties connected with the parish of St. André and of its distance from the quarter chiefly inhabited by the trade, the confraternity transferred itself to the Pères Mathurins, and its ceremonies were henceforth transacted in the church of the Sainte-Trinité, belonging to those Fathers. In 1593 the King released all the trades from an obligation, hitherto enforced, which demanded from every craftsman the execution of a *chef-d'œuvre* on his admission as a qualified master. Henceforth it was sufficient to have served the time required by statute in each trade. The practice had evidently become an abuse,

inasmuch as the jurors, who were the elective body chosen from the trade, and to whom the presentation was made, were in the habit of destroying the book unless it was redeemed by the workman by a money payment or some form of entertainment. It is interesting to observe that the binders never availed themselves of the exemption thus given, but that the necessity of offering a masterpiece to the jurors prevailed as a trade regulation as long as the formal admission of masters existed.

In 1618 was issued the first general statute regulating the craft as distinguished from the University regulations in detail which had prevailed hitherto. This statute laid down general laws for the qualification of masters, terms of apprenticeships and the like. It was as a sequel to this new state of things that an attempt was made in 1621 to exclude gilders from the privileges of qualified mastership, and to keep them in subordination as journeymen. It will be remembered that at this period booksellers were binders and binders booksellers. When the elaborate ornamentation of books had brought into existence a specialised class of workers, these gilders who confined themselves to tooling the leather covers, once admitted as masters, had also taken to themselves the selling of books. As long as they were an insignificant minority they had been admitted without demur, but by 1621 they had become a considerable body, and an attempt was made to exclude them from the bookselling privilege by preventing them from becoming masters. The decision of Parliament was, however, in favour of the gilders.

It is in connection with this trial that the legend arose that the early book gilders were gilders of boots and the other leather accessories of the

dress of the period. M. Thoinan shows how this idea came to prevail, and the explanation is sufficient to completely dissipate it. One Ballagny having fallen into bad repute from dismissing a dishonest apprentice before the expiration of his time, the trade committee procured an injunction annulling the indentures of the lad and restraining Ballagny from selling books. Pigoreau, the former master of Ballagny, joined the latter in his defence, and the two secured judgment in their favour as master gilders and booksellers. A similar action was brought later on against other gilders, and then it was that the prosecution attempted to discredit the gilders by the assertions that Pigoreau and Ballagny were originally nothing but boot-gilders, and had given up that branch of their craft and taken to what they considered the more distinguished one of book-gilding in order that they might constitute themselves booksellers, the chief position of distinction at the time.

The ingenious special pleading on the part of the prosecutor is the only ground for the legend. Both the men named had served their apprenticeships, filled their time as journeymen, and been passed masters in conformity to the existing regulations. It is possible that in the very early days of stamped bindings, the lines and ornamental patterns that bordered them were done by the 'gaufreurs' already in possession of the necessary tools for the purposes of their own special work of leather decoration; but in a very short time a certain section of these devoted themselves exclusively to the application of their art to books, and very soon indeed constituted a class by themselves. In connection with this subject of book-gilders, M. Thoinan hazards an hypothesis which

is not supported by any testimony. It is that the great designs were not carried out by the book-gilder at all, who, inasmuch as highly decorated books were not numerous, probably had not attained to the necessary experience and dexterity. It is more likely, he thinks, that they were worked by the leather-gilder, whose craft in the sixteenth century comprised the ornamentation, often very elaborate, of caskets, sheathes, jewel cases, and the small details of furniture covered in leather after the fashion of the day. These workmen, he imagines, alone possessed the taste and technical dexterity to interpret the patterns probably made by the great masters of design throughout that time. He believes, further, that the painted interlaced work, belonging more by inspiration and nature to their trade than to that of the gilder, was possibly invented as well as executed by them.

The history of the trade society during the seventeenth century is a record of its disputes with gold-beaters, and with leather-sellers who had raised their prices, and, most important of all, of the internal dissensions of the binder-booksellers, resulting in the final separation of the two trades in 1686. The edict of that year gave the parties one month in which to decide which profession they would adopt, and set forth the new regulations governing 'Binders and Gilders of books of the city of Paris.'

The University, which had not been consulted as to the separation, opposed it on behalf of the binders, but was obliged to give way. The seventeen articles of which the edict is made up are full of interest, but we have not space to dwell on them. Binders were still obliged to live within the precincts of the University, the Guards of the cor-

poration were selected by the King, and were to visit the workshops and see that the work was done according to regulations, the interests of the trade were safeguarded by strict rules relating to apprenticeships and masterships, and from time to time no apprentices were allowed to be taken if the state of business rendered this advisable.

It is interesting to note that in 1700 certain gilders who wanted to raise their prices informed against the binders who had refused their demand, stating that the latter were not sewing their books flexibly, according to regulation, but were 'sawing in.' The binders in their defence admitted this, but said that the price of certain books did not allow of flexible binding, and the Court accepted their plea, deciding what books should henceforth be exempted from the regulations. The eighteenth century is taken up with the gradual revolt of the men against their masters, until the Revolution in 1791 finally suppressed all trade corporations.

We must now touch briefly on some of the disputed points about which M. Thoinan speaks with authority. He considers that there is no warrant for attributing to the Eve family the style always coupled with their name, merely because Nicolas Eve happened to be the royal binder of the day. It is an assertion based on the idea that the books issued by the Eves as booksellers were necessarily bound by them. They might equally well have been executed in other binderies, and in fact the only binding done for Henri III., which is absolutely authenticated as from the workshop of Nicolas Eve,—*Le livre des statuts du St. Esprit*, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, has a semis of flames and fleurs-de-lys, with emblems and the royal arms, and no trace of the style associated with this binder.

The place of Le Gascon is another matter upon which the author is very emphatic, and about which he takes an exactly opposite view to that of M. Gruel. It may be remembered that the latter in his *Manuel Historique* gave an exquisite reproduction of the binding in the Bibliothèque Nationale signed 'Florimond Badier invenit et fecit,' on which the well-known head is repeated fifty-two times.

M. Gruel with much ingenuity concluded that Le Gascon, whose real name has always remained unknown, but whose reputation was clearly established in 1622, must be identical with Florimond Badier. M. Thoinan, on the other hand, comes to a different conclusion. Badier, apprenticed to Jean Thomas in 1610, was admitted as a master binder in 1645. The style of interlacings defined by dotted or filigree work, on which the head is first seen, is quite distinct from the style which has a framework of lines sometimes broken at top, bottom, and sides by the segments of a circle, and having clusters of flowerwork at the corners, or grouped as a centre-piece, such flowers being mixed line and filigree work, and only an occasional ornament being in dots. The interlaced style first described is not found before 1645, and M. Thoinan considers that it constituted a new departure invented by Badier, and that the head is neither the portrait of Le Gascon nor a tool in common use by binders of the time, but the personal signature of Badier. As the head is not found on any binding before 1645, it is more likely that Badier should have initiated his career by its use, than that it should belong to Le Gascon, who had been practising since 1622. It follows that all the *pointillé* bindings attributed to Le Gascon, having the head, executed for the

brothers Dupuy, Séguier, Fouquet, and others, should be assigned to Badier.

Of what character then, it may be asked, are the bindings done by Le Gascon? M. Thoinan considers that his style is that which prevailed for the quarter of a century after 1622, when he began to practise on his own account.

This style is the framework of line straight or curved, with corners and clusters of flowers delicately line engraved, and with only an occasional detail in filigree. If the head is found on this kind of decoration, it is only on bindings after 1645, bindings executed by Badier in the older style.

Enough has been said to indicate the important character of M. Thoinan's book, which ought to find many readers in England as well as France.

S. T. PRIDEAUX.

Venales habentur Londoñ apud bibliopolas In Cimiterio sancti Pauli: In signo sanctissime Trinitatis et sancte Anne matris marie.

TITLE-PAGE OF 'LYNDEWODE,' WITH MARK AND INITIALS OF JACOBI AND PELGRIM.

THE STATIONERS AT THE SIGN OF THE TRINITY IN ST. PAUL'S CHURCHYARD

PART I.—1506-1515

THE influx of foreign stationers into England would seem to have begun about 1493, when Frederick Egmondt appeared in this country as an agent to deal in the liturgical books printed at Venice by J. Hertzog de Landoia. Nicolas Le Comte came over from France at a slightly later date, and by the end of the century several stationers had taken up their business in London.

It was not however till 1506 that the stationers at the sign of the Trinity made their appearance. In that year they issued three important books printed at Paris by Hopyl at the expense of William Bretton, a wealthy member of the Grocers' Company, and a merchant of the staple at Calais.

Henry Jacobi, and his associate Joyce (Judocus) Pelgrim, the first stationers at the sign of the Trinity, have not hitherto received the attention they deserve. Neither Ames nor Herbert had seen any books in which their names occurred as English stationers, and those given by Panzer as containing Jacobi's name have nothing in their colophons to connect them with England. The device, too, which is found in the earliest books, as the Lyndewode and Psalter, has been entirely unnoticed or wrongly ascribed. In Berjeau's *Bookworm* (vol. v.

1870, p. 16) it is given as Hopyl's, and this statement is copied by Bigmore and Wyman in their *Bibliography of Printing*, under Hopyl (vol. i. p. 344). Both quote it as used in a book named *Libellus de modo penitendi et confitendi*, printed by Hopyl at Paris in 1495; but there is no doubt that that particular book does not contain the device in question, which we may be quite sure was first used in 1506.

The names of Jacobi and Pelgrim do not occur in any of their earliest volumes, but we are enabled to identify them by means of the colophons of the *Garlandia* and the *Theodulus*, where the names are given in full in the statement that the book was printed, '*impensis Judoci Pelgrim et Henrici Jacobi in hoc opere sociorum.*' The wording of this imprint implies that in general the two carried on business separately, and we know that Jacobi issued books by himself while Pelgrim was still alive, but the double device shows that they were in partnership for a while, at any rate as regards the production of books. As they probably lived at different shops, it is natural to suppose that in other departments of their trade as stationers they worked separately.

About Joyce Pelgrim we have little information. His name would lead us to suppose that he came from the Low Countries, and he probably had some connection with Antwerp, for it was only during his short partnership with Jacobi that any of the Trinity books were printed in that town. His connection with Jacobi seems only to have lasted during the years 1506-1508, for after that date we do not find his name in any book. In 1514 he was still alive, for in December of that year he appears in Oxford as 'procurator' (agent) to

William Bretton. It is interesting to notice that in the list of Oxford stationers in 1524 we find 'Gerard Pylegreme, a Douchman,' who is not unlikely to have been a relation. Henry Jacobi, however, must have been the principal stationer at the Trinity, for Pelgrim seems to have carried on most of his business at the sign of St. Anne.

Of Jacobi also we know nothing previous to the appearance of his name in the colophons to the books of 1506, though an entry in a MS. in the British Museum speaks of him as a bookseller in 1505. There is some ground for supposing that he was a Frenchman, or came from France, but we have no information to enable us to obtain any definite clue to his nationality. From 1506 to 1509 he was carrying on his business in St. Paul's Churchyard; in 1510 and 1511 he seems to have been in Paris. In 1512 he is again definitely stated to have been in St. Paul's Churchyard. Very shortly after this he must have given up his business in London and gone to Oxford, where he opened a shop with his old sign of the Trinity. He died at Oxford in 1514, for on the 11th December of that year administration of his effects was granted to William Bretton through his agent, Joyce Pelgrim. We may infer from this that Jacobi left no will; and on his dying intestate, Bretton, as a creditor, was entitled to apply for letters of administration.

Our knowledge of William Bretton is entirely derived from the prefaces of books printed at his expense. Herbert says about him: 'William Bretton, a merchant of London, about this time encouraged the printing of books abroad, but for our use as well as for his own profit and advantage. He bore the character of a faithful and honest man,

as appears by the following books printed at his expense. If he did not live himself at the sign of the Trinity in St. Paul's Churchyard, as Maittaire seems to intimate, *Ann. Typog.* vol. ii. p. 176, his factor or publisher dwelt there.'

Our fullest information is derived from the preface to the *Pupilla Oculi*, which takes the form of a letter from the editor to the publisher, and is headed: 'Augustinus Aggeus Haius consumatissimo viro et mercatori fi. Guilhelmo bretton̄. S.D.P.' Bretton is told that he must have taken to heart the maxim of Plato, that men are born not for their own good only, but for that of their country. To place good books within the reach of poor purchasers is a worthy deed, especially so in the case of works appertaining to the service of the Church.

'In quam rem,' he continues, 'unus tu mi vir beneficentissime tanto studio iamdudum incumbis: ut nullis laboribus, nullis impensis parcas: certe quo possis efficere ut nusquam in ecclesia Anglicana quicquam desideretur quod ad dei cultum pertineat: sed ubique sacerdotes et quicumque altari famulantur ad manus habeant, quos ritus in cerimoniis et administrandis sacramentis observare debeant. Nam ut taceam libros quos nuper in Galliam traiiciens ipse maximis impensis atque optimis formulis premi fecisti: quid hac una Pupilla Oculi (quam nobis emendandam commisisti) vel utilius: vel magis necessarium in christiana religione publicandum invenire possis non intelligo. Traduntur enim in ea singula quae ad misterium altaris, ad institutionem populi, ad sacramentorum ministrationem spectant: tam plene atque exacte, ut michi [*i.e.* nichil] desit, tam succincte ac luculenter, ut nihil non sit unionibus merito comparandum. Quo-

circa rectissime michi videtur author obseruasse preceptum illud Horatianum. Quicquid precipies esto breuis: ut cito dicta percipiant animi dociles, teneantque fideles.' He anticipates that this edition of the *Pupilla Oculi* will win for Bretton the thanks of all priests into whose hands it may come, and hopes that they will remember its publisher in their prayers: 'Quos si gratos esse perspexeris: scio indies plures ac plures libros in eorum rem facientes te publicaturum. Grati autem erunt: si pupillam hanc insolita luce micantem: et iamprimum ab incude prodeuntem: statim ne situ obducatur a bibliopolis redemerint. Vale mi vir officiosissime: et me aliquando inter clientes tuos assere. Vale iterum Londini ex edibus nostris pridie kalendas Februarias. Mil. ccccccx.'

Besides this, the colophon of the 1510 *Horæ* describes Bretton as 'civis et mercator Londoniensis et stapulensis ville Calisie.' Herbert further says, 'One William Bretton was master of arts at Cambridge in 1494.' But there seems no reason beyond the similarity of the names for connecting these two.

The history of the firm up to the year 1510 can be pretty clearly gathered from the information given by the books which they issued. In that year it is probable that Jacobi went to Paris, and his engraved device was probably made there. On returning from Paris he opened a shop in Oxford, and died in that city in 1514. The business at the Trinity was carried on up till the year 1516, but we have no information by whom. Pelgrim was certainly alive, but he is never mentioned. It is not impossible that Francis Byrckman, whom we know to have had some connection with the firm in 1512,

became a partner in the business. On the title-pages of some of his books we find the large cut of the Trinity, and he describes himself as carrying on business 'in cimiterio sancti Pauli apud scholas novas,' though no sign is mentioned.

The exact site of the shop with the sign of the Trinity cannot be settled quite definitely. In 1509 we are told that it was 'prope novam scholam,' the school referred to being probably that situated at St. Austin's Gate, at the point where now Watling Street joins Paul's Churchyard. In 1512 it was 'apud scholas novas,' that is, at the new schools founded by Colet, which were built about 1511. How near the school the shop was, or in what position with regard to it, we cannot say; we can only place it at the east side of Paul's Churchyard, opposite the east end of the old cathedral.

Of the sign of St. Anne, at which Pelgrim probably lived, we hear nothing after 1506. It was perhaps situated near the 'Trinity,' at the east end of the churchyard, and may have been one of the 'lowe houses of boke-bynders' mentioned in the *Monumenta Franciscana* as having been cleared away in 1510-12 to make room for St. Paul's School.

Four devices were used by Pelgrim and Jacobi. The first consists of a blank shield with a ribbon behind it on which is printed *Nosce teipsum*. On the one side are the mark and initials of Jacobi; on the other the mark and initials of Pelgrim. The second, made for Jacobi alone, contains a representation of the Trinity, with his mark and name in full below. A third device is the coat of arms of William Bretton, which was used in the majority of books printed at his expense. After it had been used in the earliest books it was discovered that the shield was wrongly engraved; a

Fortuna opes auferre non animū potest.

ARMS AND MOTTO OF WILLIAM BRETTON.

new shield was therefore cut and inserted in the block. The fourth device was a figure of the Trinity, which probably belonged to Hopyl, as it is used only in the books printed by him. We find it also used in some of the books printed by him for F. Byrckman.

The following is a complete list of all the books published by the firm from 1505 to 1515 which are now known :—

1. Psalterium cum hymnis. 4°. W. Hopyl. Paris, 1506.

Collation : a, a-q^{8}, r^{10} ; 146 leaves (1-146). Psalter.
A-E^{8} ; 40 leaves (147-186). Hymnal.

Leaf 1^{a}. (*Title*) ¶ Psalterium cum Hymnis | scdm usum et consuetudinem | Sarum et Eboracen. | Leaf 185 (*Colophon*) ¶ Explicit Psalteriū cū antiphonis dñica | lib' & ferialib' suis locis insertis, una cum | hymnis eccl'ie Sarum et Eboracen deser | uientibus. Impressum Parisius Expēsis | & sumptib' honesti mercatoris Gwilhelmi | Brettoñ. Anno v'ginei part' . M. ccccc . vi. | Die vero . xxii . kalendas Aprilis. |

*** On the title-page is the large cut of the Trinity, and on either side part of a woodcut border; above all, the legend *Sancta trinitas unus deus miserere nobis*; and at the foot of the page Hopyl's motto, *Fortuna opes auferre : non animum potest.* The *recto* of the last leaf contains six small woodcuts of saints and fathers, and below these the device of Jacobi and Pelgrim. On the *verso* of the leaf is a large woodcut of Bretton's coat of arms. This Psalter was reprinted for Byrckman by Hopyl in 1516, and by Prevost in 1522, the large device of the Trinity (which belonged to Hopyl) appearing upon their title-pages, which are almost identical with that of the present edition.

Two copies only are known, both in the Bodleian [Gough Missals 104, A.2 18 Linc], and of these only one is perfect.

2. Hore ad usum Sarum. 8°. W. Hopyl. Paris, 1506.

Collation: a, a-z, A-I^8; 264 leaves.

Leaf 1^a. ¶ Hore beatissime v'ginis marie ad | cōsuetudinē insignis ecclesie Sarū | nup emaculatissime īpresse: multis | orationib' pulcherrimis annexis. | Impēsis atq$_b$ sūptibus honesti mer | catoris wilhelmi brettō ciuis Lōd. [*Hopyl's large Trinity device.*]

Colophon.

¶ Hore diue marie virginis ad usū | p̄clare ecclie Sarū: cum multis san | ctorū sctārūq$_b$ suffragiis denuo su-| peradditis. In alma Parrhisiorū | academia per wolffgangum hopy | lium impresse. Expensis et sumpti- | bus honesti mercatoris Londoñ. | Wilhelmi Bretton. Anno domini | Mil. cccccvi. kal' .ix. mēfis Aprilis. | [*Cut of St. Anne.*] ¶ Uenales habentˉ Londoñ. apud | bibliopolas In cimiterio scti Pau | li sub intersignio sanctissime Tri- | nitatis & sancte Anne.

*** The only copy known, which is in the Bodleian (Arch. Bodl. D. subt. 55) wants 39 leaves. It is printed on vellum, and is in an early stamped binding which has been rebacked.

3. Lyndewode, Constitutiones provinciales. Fol. W. Hopyl. Paris, 1506.

Collation: a-h^8, i-y alternate sixes and eights, z^8, &^{10} = 180 leaves (1-180).

Leaf 1^a. PRouinciale, seu Cōstitutiones An- | glie: Cū summariis, atq$_b$ iustis an | notationibus; politissimis chara- | cteribus: summaq$_b$ accuratiōe rur- | sum reuise, atq$_b$ impresse. | Sancta trinitas unus deus: miserere nobis: | [*Cut of Trinity.*] Fortuna opes aufferre nō animum potest. | *Mark of Pelgrim and Jacobi*] ¶ Uenales habentur Londoñ. apud bibliopolas | In Cimiterio sancti Pauli:

In signo sanctissime | Trinitatis et sancte Anne matris marie.

Colophon.

Explicit preclarum opus*wilhelmi Lyn | dewode eruditissimi viri, super constitutiones prouinciales Anglie: | summa cura atq; diligentia Wolffgangi Hopylii reuisum emēdatū, | atq; In inclita Parisiorū Academia. Impressum: una cum annota | tionibus debitis: cūq; summariis suis locis prepositis. Impēsis vero | et sumptibus honesti mercatoris Londoñ. Wilhelmi Brettoñ. Anno | salutis nostre millesimo quingētesimo quinto, xxiij Martii.

*** Prefixed to the volume is an index of eighteen leaves (A-C^{6}) with the following verses on the title-page:

Moribus ingenuis: doctrina: opibusq; potentes
Anglorum proceres: cleri: patresq; britanni:
Qui sanam colitis doctrinam,: iis moribus equam:
Ēccum, quod totiens petiistis nobile dogma.
Uestibus attalicis redimitum: omniq; redemptum
A vicio: et nullis per cuncta notabile mendis.
Exit: ut era suis referat condigna patronis.

[*Coat of arms of W. Bretton.*]

Fortuna opes aufferre non animū potest.

4. Athon, Constitutiones. Fol. W. Hopyl. Paris, 1506.

Collation: A-I^{8}, K^{6}; 78 leaves.

Leaf 1^{a}. Legatine seu Constitutiones legitime | cū summariis, atq; iustis annotatio | nibus: politissimis characterib': sum | maq; accuratione rursum reuise, at | q; impresse. | . . . Sancta trinitas unus deus miserere nobis. | [*Cut of Trinity.*] Fortuna opes aufferre: non animū potest. [*Mark of Pelgrim and Jacobi.*] ¶ Uenales habentur Londoñ. apud bibliopolas | In Cimiterio sancti Pauli. In signo sanctissime | Trinitatis, et sancte Anne matris marie.

Colophon.

Explicitus est Joannes Athoñ super omnibus constitutio | nibus Othonis & Othoboni quondam apostolice sedis in anglia legatorum. | Deo gratias.

*** The Index, bound sometimes at the beginning, sometimes at the end of the volume, has the following title:

¶ Constitutiones legitime seu legatine regionis Anglicane: cū | subtilissima interpretatione dñi Johannis de Athon: cum tripli- | ci tabella, summa accuratione recognite: annotate: et Parisiis coimpresse. [*Coat of arms of W. Bretton.*] Fortuna opes auferre: nō animū potest.

Collation: †, ††^{6}, 12 leaves.

*** These two books are generally found bound up together. On the title-pages of both is a cut of the Trinity, and, at the sides, the four doctors of the Church,—St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, and St. Gregory. Between those on the left is St. Thomas of Canterbury, and between those on the right the Venerable Bede. Round the whole is a frame composed of six border-pieces, with the initials W. B., standing for W. Bretton, and below the cut of the Trinity, the mark of Pelgrim and Jacobi.

This edition of the *Lyndewode* is copied exactly, even down to the preface, from an earlier Paris edition, so that the 'optimi bibliopolae vestri' therein mentioned cannot, as might reasonably have been supposed, be Pelgrim and Jacobi.

Though the colophon states that the *Lyndewode* was printed by March 22nd, 1505 (1506), yet the date of the introduction shows that it could not have been issued until after May 1506.

Herbert describes another edition of the *Lyndewode* with the following colophon: ¶ 'Explicit preclarum opus Wilhelmi Lyndewode eruditissimi viri super constitutiones provinciales Anglie. summa cura atq. diligentia impressum, una cum annotationibus. Sumptibus Wilhelmi Bretton, apud Paris per T. Kerver.' No such edition, so

far as I am aware, exists, and the description is probably founded upon some error, for the book as described by Herbert bears Hopyl's motto on the title, and could therefore hardly have been printed by Kerver.

5. Garlandia, J. de. Liber Synonymorum. 4°. (Th. Martens) Antwerp, 1507.

Collation: A-I^{6}, K^{4}; 58 leaves.

Leaf 1^{a}. ¶ Liber synonymorum magistri Johannis | de garlandia cum expositione magistri Gal | fridi anglici . nouiter Autwerpie (sic) impressus. | [*Cut of master and six pupils.*] Uenundantur Londoni apud bibliopolas in ci | miterio sancti Pauli.

Colophon.

¶ Liber synonymorum Magistri Joannis de | Garlandia, una cum expositione magistri gal | fridi anglici vigili diligentia orthographie q^{b} | stilo correctus et emendatus:* cum notabilibus | in margine insertis, feliciter finit. Impressus | Antwerpie impensis Judoci pelgrim et henri | ci Jacobi in hoc opere sociorum. Anno domi- | ni .M. ccccc. vij. sexto ydus Junii.

*** On either side of the cut on the title-page is a portion of a border, of very delicate work, probably made for some edition of a *Horæ*.

The only copy at present known is in the British Museum, G. 7507.

6. Theodulus. 4°. (Th. Martens, Antwerp) 1508.

Collation, a-g^{6}, h^{8}; 50 leaves.

Leaf 1^{a}. Liber theodoli cum comento Nouiter impressus. [*Cut of master and six pupils.*] Venundatur Londoni apud bibliopolas in cimiterio | sancti Pauli.

Colophon.

Sanctissima explanatio Theodoli finit feliciter. | Impensis Iudoci pelgrim et Henrici Iacobi. In hoc | opere sociorum. Anno M.ccccc.viii.

*** Herbert speaks (vol. iii. p. 1821) of a *Theodoli Liber* 1508 'pro Johanne Wright,' but at present neither book nor stationer is known. It is of course quite possible that it may be a copy of the present edition with another imprint.

The cut of the 'master and six pupils' found on the title-pages of this book and the *Garlandia* just described found its way later into the hands of Peter Treveris, who uses it to ornament several of his Grammars.

The only copies known at present are in the libraries of the British Museum, Trinity College, Cambridge, Bodleian (imp.), S. Sandars, Esq., and one in my own possession.

7. 'A Dialogue in Latin and English in 8°. Printed at Antwerp per Theodoricum Martin at ye expence of Judocus Pilgrim and Henry Jacob. No date.'

*** This title is given by Bagford in one of his note-books (Harl. 5904, p. 5), and there can be little doubt that it is a genuine description of a book which he had seen. It is hardly possible that he would have fabricated a title of (to him) so little typographical importance, and even if we grant him the will, he certainly did not possess the necessary knowledge. It is impossible to determine what book is meant by 'A Dialogue in Latin and English': the book which best answers to the description is the Vulgaria Terentii, which consists of alternate lines of Latin and English.

8. Ortus Vocabulorum. 4°. London, R. Pynson, 1509.

Collation: A-Z, & ɔ, AA, BB⁸, CC, DD⁶; 228 leaves.

The first line of the title Ortus vocabulorū is cut on wood in such a manner that the letters appear in white on a red ground. This is followed by a long explanation of the purpose of the book, printed, as Herbert puts it, in the form of a jelly-glass, at the bottom of which we find :

¶ Uenundatur Londoñ. in vico nūcupato | Fletestrete : sub intersignio sancti Georgii : | ab Richardo Pynson Impressore Regio.

Or in other copies

¶ Uenundatur Londoñ apud bibliopolas In | cimiterio sancti Pauli : sub intersignio sanctis- | sime Trinitatis : ab Henrico Jacobi.

Colophon.

¶ Adest studiosissimi lectores opusculi finis : | quod nō minus preceptoribus (ut vocabulo- | rum significationes memorie commendent) | q̄b scholasticis : ceterisq̄b studiosis eas ignoran | tibus conducet : omnium enim vocabulorum | significationes que in Catholicon : Breuilo- | quo : Cornucopia : Gēma vocabulorum ; aut | Medulla grammatice ponuntur continet. | Quum igitur summa diligentia sit collectū | vigilantiq̄b studio correctum . ut magis in lu | cem prodiret : ipsum a viris studiosis compa | randum esse constat. Per virum autē lauda- | bilem ac ciuem prouidum Henricum Jacobi | prope nouam scholam ac celeberrimam diui | Pauli Apostoli ecclesiam cōmorantem. | Impressum Londoñ . per Richardū Pynson | Regium Impressorem. Cōmorantem in vi- | co nuncupato Fletestrete : sub intersignio san | cti Georgii. Anno incarnationis Dominice | M. ccccc. ix. undecimo kalēdas Septēbris.

Copies : Bodleian (one of each issue). B. M. U. L. C.

The type in which this book is for the most part printed was used by Pynson as early as 1496, and seems to be identical with the type used by Ascensius at Paris about 1500–1520 in many of his books. Pynson may perhaps have obtained it from abroad in 1496. The 'w' used in the book is not however in the same type, but larger, and specially cut, and

was used by Pynson in other books printed in foreign types which would not have a 'w' of their own.

In the Bodleian [Mason H. 50] is a grammatical work, referred to by Herbert, p. 301, as 'Asenſius declynſons with the playne expoſition' (evidently intended to be bound up with a larger work), which is printed in the same type as the *Ortus*. At the end mention is made of a grammar following, and also 'of a purpose to make an alphabete tabel conteynying all the latyn wordis with there exposicion, that be put both of owre autor, and us materally for there own cause.' This may perhaps refer to the *Ortus*, but no grammar in this type is at present known.

In the library at Blickling there is a copy of the *Ortus vocabulorum* with which is bound up the *Promptorium parvulorum clericorum quod apud nos Medulla grammatica appellatur*, printed by Julian Notary in 1508. In the 'ad lectorem' at the end we find 'And be cause that no man or chylde shall hereafter haue ony dyffyculte more to serche for any laten or englyshe worde therefore we have ordened thys libel in small volum for to bynde with Ortus vocabulorum mooste necessary for chyldren.' Impressum . . : et venundatur apud bibliopolas in cimeterio sancti pauli in opilentissima ciuitate London.

9. Pupilla Oculi. (J. de Burgo.) 4°. Paris, 1510.

Leaf 1ª [*over the cut of the Trinity and of St. Thomas, St. Augustine, St. Gregory, and Bede.*] ¶ Pupilla oculi oĩbus presbyteris precipue Anglicanis | summe necessaria : per sapientissimū diuini cultus moderatorē Johan- | nem de burgo quondā alme vniuersitatis Cantabrigien. cancellariū : et | sacre pagine professorē necnō ecclesie &c

Colingam rectorē : cōpilata an- | no a natali dominico .M.ccclxxxv. (In qua tractaī de septē sacramento | rum administratione. De decē preceptis decalogi & reliquis ecclesiastico | rum officiis que oportet sacerdotē rite institutū non ignorare) iāprimum | accuratissime castigata | atq; tersissime in lucē edita. Impensis honestis | simi ac fidelissimi marcatoris Uvilhelmi bretton.

¶ Augustinus Aggeus ad clerum.

[*Then follow* 14 *lines of Latin verse.*]

¶ Uenūdatur Londoñ. apud bibliopolas in cimiterio | sancti Pauli : sub intersignio sāctissime ac indiuidue tri | nitatis. | *Colophon.*

¶ Pupilla oculi in qua tractatur de septem | sacramentorū administratione de decē pre- | ceptis decalogi : et reliquis ecclesiastico2; offi | ciis : atq; alia in ecclesia agendis : oībus pres | byteris summe necessaria in alma Parisio- | rum academia opera wolffgāgi hopylii im | pressa Anno nostre redemptiōis Millesimo quingentesimodecimo . vii. kalendas Julii. |

*** Some copies have the following imprint on the *verso* of the last leaf below the coat of arms of Bretton :

Uenalis habeī in vico scti Jacobi apud edes sancti Benedicti ad ītersigniu scti Georgii.

St. George was the sign of Hopyl's place of business in Paris.

Copies without this imprint are common ; there are copies with it in the libraries at Blickling and Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

10. Speculum spiritualium. (R. Rolle of Hampole.) 4°. Paris, 1510.

Collation : a^{10}, a-z, & ↄ 2^{8}, A^{10} ; 228 leaves.

¶ Speculum spiritualiu : in quo nō solum de vita acti- | ua et cōtemplatiua : verumetiā de viciis, quibus humana mens inquinatur, ac virtutibus quibus in deū accēditur : ppulchre tractatur . cū variis exemplis ad utrā | q; vitam conducentibus : oībus pie viuere cupientibus | vtile : religiosis tamen sūme necessariū . tū quia oīa ad | eū officia pertinētia patēter declarat : tū etiam quia q | fugienda ac psequēda sūt : potissimū demonstrat. Addi | tur insuper

et opusculum Ricardi hampole de emēda | tione vite : ac de regula bene viuendi. |

[*Cut of Trinity with St. Gregory and Bede on left St. Thomas, St. Augustine on right.*]

¶ Uenale habeť Londonie apud bibliopolas in cimi- | terio sctī Pauli ad signū scīssime ac īdiuidue trinitatis. |

Colophon.

¶ Opera predicta in alma Parisioꝝ acade | mia ꝑ Wolffgangū hopyliū sunt impressa : | sumptibus et expensis honesti viri Guilhel | mi brettoñ ciuis London. Anno dñi millesi | mo quingentesimo decimo. |

*** The copy in the Cathedral Library at Salisbury has the following imprint upon the title-page in place of the usual one:

¶ Venale habetur in vico sancti Jacobi apud edē sacrā sancti Benedicti ad signum sancti Georgii.

11. Horae ad usum Sarum. 8°. Th. Kerver. *Paris*, 1510.

Collation: a-z^{8} ; 184 leaves.

Leaf 1ª. ¶ Hore beatissime vginis Marie ad usum | Sarisburiēsis ecclesie accuratissime īpresse | cū multis orationib' pulcherrimis et indul- | gentiis iam ultimo recenter insertis. | *Colophon.* ¶ Finit officiū beate virginis ma | rie scd̄m usum Sarisburiensis eccle | sie, Impressum parisiuš per Thiel | mannum Keruer impressorem ac li | brarium iuratum alme uniuersita- | tis parisiensis. Impensis & sumpti- | bus prestantissimi Wilhelmi bretton | ciuis & mercatoris londoniēsis & sta | pul'. ville calisie. Anno dñi millesi- | mo quingentesimo decimo : die vero | quinta mensis Septembris.

*** In one of the copies in the Bodleian the name Bretton has been erased from the colophon and the name Davit written in its place, which has led Herbert to assert that this copy was printed for a different publisher. Dibdin goes further, and writes as if this was the normal imprint, merely adding within brackets the colophon with Bretton's name.

Five copies are known: Bodleian (two), St. Paul's Cathedral, Magdalene College, Cambridge, St. Cuthbert's College, Ushaw.

The next four books, printed by Badius Ascensius at Paris, are all exactly similar in typographical execution. They have no illustrations, and, beyond having the name of Jacobi in the imprint, have little interest.

12. Savonarola; Introductorium cõfessorum. 8°. Paris, 1510.

Collation: a-g^{8}; 56 leaves.

Leaf 1^{a}. Introductorium confessorum Frą- | tris Hieronymi Sauonarole Ferrariẽ- | sis ordinis predicatorum. | Uenundatur ab Joanne paruo | Henrico Jacobi, & Ascensio. | *Colophon.* ¶ Finem cepit in edibus Ascensianis ad xiiij | Calendas Martias Anno. M.D.X. ad calcu- | lum Romanum.

13. Savonarola. De simplicitate christianae vitae. 8°. Paris, 1510.

Collation: a-g^{8}, h^{4}; 60 leaves.

Leaf 1^{a}. ¶ Libri fratris Hieronymi de ferra- | ria ordinis predicatorum de simplicita | te Christiane vite. | Venundãtur ab Joanne Paruo Hẽ | rico iacobi & ipsorũ impressore Ascensio. | *Colophon.* ¶ Ad laudem õipotentis dei ac beate virginis: ac | oĩm sctõr: Salutẽq; christi fidelium impressum est | hoc opus Parrhisiis in chalcographia Ascẽsiana | tertio Calendas Martias Anni salutis. M.D.X. | ad calculum Romanum. | Deo gratias. |

14. Savonarola. Eruditorium confessorum. 8° Paris, 1510.

Collation: a-g^{8}; 56 leaves.

Leaf 1^{a}. Eruditoriũ cõfesso | rum Fratris Hieronymi Saũonarolae Ferrarien- | sis ordinis predica | torum. | Venun dãtur a Joanne paruo | Henrico Jacobi et Ascensio. *Colophon.* ¶ Finem cepit in edibus Ascensianis ad | xiii Calendas Octobres. Anno | M.D.X. Ad calculum | Romanum. |

15. Savonarola. De simplicitate christianae vitae. 8°. Paris, 1511.

Collation: A-G^{8}, H^{4}; 60 leaves.

Leaf 1^{a}. ¶ Libri fratris Hieronymi de ferraria | ordinis predicatorū de sim | plicitate Chri- | stiane vite. | Uenundantur ab Joanne paruo Hen | rico iacobi & ipsorū impressore Ascensio. | *Colophon.* ¶ Ad laudem omnipotentis dei ac beate virginis: | ac omniū sanctorū: Salutemq; christi fidelium im- | pressum est hoc opus Parrisiis in chalcographia | Ascensiana Ad Sextū Calēdas Junias Anni salu | tis. M.D.XI. ad calculum Romanum | Deo gratias.

16. Diurnale. 16°. Paris, 1512.

Collation: a-z, aa-qq^{8}; 312 leaves.

Leaf 1^{a}. ¶ Diurnale Sarum [*arms and supporters*]. *Colophon.* ¶ Diurnale Sar pro | id gesturi cōmoditate | ad breuitatē redactum | longe ceteris hactenus | īpressis castigatiōe sui | et pfectione preeminēs | In alma Parisiorum | Academia. M. ccccc. xii. Impensis honesti viri | Henrici Jacobi: Lon- | donii in cimiterio san- | cti Pauli apud scolas | nouas commorantis. |

*** On the *verso* of the last leaf is the armorial device of F. Birckman and the motto of Hopyl, 'Fortuna opes aufer- | re non animū potest.'

This is the only edition of the *Sarum Diurnale* known, but from the prologue we learn that there had been at least two previous editions. Only one copy is known, now in Lambeth Palace Library.

17. Regula Benedicti. 12°. (c. 1512.)

Collation: a-i^{12}, k^{6}; 114 leaves.

Leaf 1^{a}. Regula & vita beatissi | mi patris Benedicti | cum miraculis a bea- | to Gregorio .IX. papa | conscripta. | [*Cut of St. Benedict.*] ¶ Venales extant Londoñ in Cimi | terio sci Pauli sub intersignio san- | cte Trinitatis. A henrico Jacobi. | *No Colophon.*

*** The type suggests that this book was printed at Paris, but the cut of St. Benedict is found at a later date in a *Golden Legend* printed by W. de Worde. Two copies are known, one in the Bodleian, the other at Frankfurt am Main.

18. Legenda Francisci. 8°. Paris (c. 1512).

Collation: a-l⁸, m⁴; 92 leaves.

Leaf 1ª. Legenda maior bea | tissimi patris francisci a sancto Bona | uētura, suavissimo & religionis pieta- | tē redolēte stilo cōposita, que a pristi- | nis mēdis ex superioribus impressio- | nibus cōtractis limatissime castigata: | ingenti labore: suo tandem splendori | restituta est. | [*Cut of St. Francis.*] ¶ Uenundatur ubi impressa est parisiis in offici | na Claudii Cheuallon e regione collegii Camera- | ceñ: & Londoniis in cimiterio sancti Pauli sub signo | sanctissime Trinitatis. | *Colophon.* ¶ Impressū Parisius opa Johīs barbier īpresso | ris necnō alme universitatis bibliopole iurati.

*** The woodcut which Dibdin describes as on the back of the title has been inserted there from an earlier edition without date, printed for Petit and others. Again, as the end of the 'Legend' and the whole of the 'Bull' are on sheet m, his assertion that 'Chevallon printed the Legend and Barbier the Bull' is ridiculous. Barbier was of course the printer, and Chevallon the publisher. The occurrence of the two names together gives some clue to the date; for, according to Panzer, Chevallon first appears in 1511, and Barbier disappears in 1514. One copy is known, now in the Bodleian.

19. Sirectus. Formalitates. 8°. (c. 1513.)

Collation not known.

(*Title.*) . . . . . Scoti ordinis fratrum minoꝝ doctoris sub- | tilissimi cum novis additionibus et con- | cordantiis magistri Mauritii de por- | tu hybernie in margine decora- | te et nouiter impresse: | Personis tribus his deitas distincta: sed unus | Est deus: et prius est, posteriusq; nihil. | [*Device of Jacobi*]. O pater omni- potens: qui verbo cuncta creasti | Orat henricus des: sibi regna poli. | ¶ Uenūdantur in uniuersitate Oxonien. Sub | intersignio sanctissime Trinitatis ab Hen- | rico Jacobi bibliopole Londonien.

*** This book is known only from fragments discovered by Mr. R. Proctor in a binding at New College, Oxford. It shows that Jacobi had settled at Oxford, and is the only book yet known which contains his engraved device in an unmutilated state.

20. *Donatus. 4°. Paris, 1515.

Collation: ab^4, c^6; 14 leaves (?).

Leaf 1[a] ¶ Donate, and accidēce for childrē enpryn- | ted at Parys. Anno domini. M. d. xv | [*Device of Philip de Couuelance.*] ¶ Uenales habentur Parisiis ad signū asi | ni riguati per Philippum de Couuelāce. Et | in cymiterio sancti Pauli ad signum sancte | Katerine vel diue trinitatis. |

*** This edition may have been published for the use of St. Paul's School, for which a later bookseller at the sign of the Trinity produced some small grammars. Nothing seems to be known of Philip de Couvelance, and in the only copy known, the last leaf is missing, so that any information which the colophon might have afforded is lost. The mark, with the motto, 'Inicium sapientie timor domini,' used on the title-page, belonged at an earlier period to A. Bacquelier. Another stationer, named Jehan de Cowlance, who lived at Paris from 1495 to 1509, used for his device a striped ass, explaining the 'asinus riguatus' of the present book. This Jehan de Cowlance is the same person as Johannes Confluentinus (John of Coblentz), whose name is found in the preface to the *Lyndwode*. The only known copy of the *Donatus* is in the Bodleian.

E. Gordon Duff.

THE BOOKS OF HOURS OF GEOFFROY TORY

IN its second and revised edition Auguste Bernard's monograph on Geoffroy Tory, published now nearly thirty years ago, is one of the few books of which it can be said that they are so well done that no one has any excuse for going over the ground again. It would be pleasant if some French publisher would bring out a new edition worthily illustrated, for in 1865 the modern processes of reproduction were not yet invented, and the few and poor woodcuts in M. Bernard's book give no just idea of the artistic powers of Tory; whose illustrated editions are so difficult to meet with that M. Bernard's admirable commentary loses half its value for lack of an accompaniment of text. In England Tory is known chiefly by his *Champfleury*, a fantastic essay on the alphabet full to overflowing with its author's pedantry, and the *Horæ* of 1525. A librarian's holiday, spent at the Bodleian, revealed to the present writer examples of Tory's two other sets of *Horæ*, and it seems worth while to give some specimen pages from them, accompanied by a few criticisms.

Tory's life, so far as it concerns us, may be summed in a few words. He was born about 1480 at Bourges, studied letters at the University there and also in Italy, and lived in Paris, editing scholastic books and teaching in various colleges, from 1507, or earlier, up to some date between 1511

and 1516. In this last year he is found in Rome, and, on his return to Paris in 1518, he endeavoured to gain his living, no longer as a teacher, but as an artist. By 1525 he had become a bookseller, and the next year was admitted as a Printer of the city of Paris, and in 1531 appointed Printer Royal. He died probably in 1533, for, on October 14, 1534, we hear of his business as being carried on by his widow, who the next year transferred it to Olivier Mallard.

Tory was thus at once a scholar, an artist, a bookseller, and a printer, and his *Horæ*, for which he designed the illustrations and borders, which he sold, and in some cases printed himself, and which he carefully advertised as 'en bonne orthographie de poinctz d'accens et diphthongues,' bear traces of all his occupations and pedantries. They may be divided into three groups, of which the important examples are respectively those of Jan. $\frac{16}{17}$, 1525, Oct. 22, 1527, and Feb. 8, 1529. These groups we may now proceed to examine. As has already been said, the first is by far the best known, having been printed more frequently and probably in larger editions than the others. Three different issues of the first edition have come down to us, duplicates of each other as regards their text, but with different title-pages and colophons, and differences in the arrangement of the almanack and privilege. One of these is dated 1524 and bears the device of Simon Colines, Tory's partner in the venture, on the title-page. The only copy known in France, that of the Bibliothèque de l'Arsénal, has been mislaid, but another is in the library of Mr. R. C. Fisher, who very kindly brought it to London for me to see. On the whole the little rabbits of Colines' device, with its dotted background, form a more attractive

centre-piece to the delicate border than Tory's well-known 'pot cassé.' This appears in the issue of Jan. 16, 1525, and also in that of the next day, in which it is preceded by an unwieldy title in French, those of the two other issues being in Latin.

To appreciate rightly the importance of Tory's Books of Hours we must remember that all the finest and most characteristic French *Horæ* were printed between 1490 and 1505, the best of them being the work of Philippe Pigouchet. The numberless editions which were published during these fifteen years apparently gave rise to a desire for something new, and the novelty took the form of designs imported from Germany or executed under the inspiration of German artists. Though vigorous enough, these designs lacked the simplicity and grace of their predecessors, and, during the next twenty years, matters went from bad to worse. Against this artistic decadence Tory's *Horæ* of 1525 were a reaction. To go back to the fifteenth century models was, of course, impossible. For Tory was too genuine an artist to endeavour to bring about a mere antiquarian revival, while his inspirations were all drawn from the Italian Renaissance, and he probably appreciated very imperfectly the naïveté and richness of colour which were the distinguishing marks of Pigouchet and his school. The change of spirit is illustrated very markedly by comparing Pigouchet's design of the 'Adoration of the Shepherds,' which appears in the editions of 1498, with Tory's 'Crucifixion.' In the first the names written against the figures of the Shepherds and their wives, 'Gobin le gai,' 'le beau Roger,' 'Aloris,' 'Alison,' etc., take us back to the old French miracle plays; in the second, the four little vignettes which surround the central picture illus-

ue Maria Gratia plena do-
minus tecum: Benedicta tu in
mulieribus/ & benedictus fru-
ctus ventris tui.

Omine labia mea ape-
ries t os meū annun-
ciabit laudem tuam.
eus in adiutorium meum in-
tende. omine ad adiuuandū
me festina lloria patri & filio

n adiutorium meum
ntende omine ad ad-
dum me festina lo
& filio, & spiritui sancto.

trate Virgil's quatrain 'sic vos non vobis,' presenting the sheep, the bees, the birds, and the oxen, whose life encircles others, but not themselves, as so many types of Our Lord's self-sacrifice. The inspiration of the one artist is medieval, of the other classical; and those who, like the present writer, delight in medieval naïveté will naturally prefer Pigouchet's work, and find in it a richness and life in which Tory's is lacking. In the same way the vignettes from the Dance of Death, and the country scenes which form the side-pieces to the best fifteenth century *Horæ* are far more attractive than Tory's delicate but somewhat frigid borders, in which all the ornament is rigidly conventionalised. Yet the illustration here given from the *Horæ* of 1525 is undeniably the work of a true artist, attaining real grace amid a severe simplicity, to which the massive figure of the black Magus lends an unwonted richness.

According to M. Bernard, the designs of this 1525 edition appear again in that of October 20, 1531, and form the basis of an intermediate edition of October 1, 1527, which he describes as printed, 'chez Simon de Colines en caractères romains avec des vignettes de même genre, mais beaucoup plus petites.' I have not been able to see a copy of either of these editions, but, as they evidently belong to the same group, they cannot affect our estimate of Tory's work.

We come now to the edition 'suivant l'usage de Paris,' of October 22, 1527, in which Tory essayed a quite different style. This is printed in Gothic letter instead of Roman, and goes back in its borders to the early *Horæ*, printed by Jean du Pré about 1490, in which, instead of vignettes of figures and scenes, flowers and birds formed the basis of

Ad ſextam Verſus.

DEus in adiutorium meũ intende. ℟. Domine ad adiuuandũ me feſtina. Gloria patri, & filio, & ſpiritui ſancto. Sicut erat in principio, & nunc, & ſemper, & in ſecula ſeculorum. Amen. Alleluia. Hymnus.

THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI, FROM TORY'S *HORÆ*, 1525.

the scheme of decoration. I have seen two copies of this edition, one at the Bodleian from which I reproduce a page with a good example of a border, the other in the library of Mr. R. C. Fisher, to whose kindness I am indebted for the illustration of the Assumption of the Virgin. This is by far the finest design in the volume, as may be seen by

comparing it with the four reproduced, with tolerable exactness, by Dibdin in his *Bibliographical Decameron* (vol. i. pp. 93-97). Dibdin begins his description of the book in a more than usually offensive manner ('Approach we now with a soft and gentle step, but with no ordinary delight, the tasteful productions, etc.') which in a measure pre-

qui ſtabant: ⁊ dixerunt Petro. Vere ⁊ tu ex iſtis es. nam ⁊ loquela tua manifeſtū te facit. Tunc cepit deteſtari ⁊ iurare/ q̄a non nouiſſet hominē. Et continuo gallus cātauit. Et recordat⁹ eſt Petrus verbi Jeſu qui dixerat illi/ Priꝰ quā gallus cātet/ ter me negabis. Et egreſſus foras/ fleuit amare. Mane autē facto cōſilium inierunt omnes p̄ncipes ſacerdotum ⁊ ſeniores populi aduerſus Jeſum: vt eum morti traderent. Et vinctum adduxerūt eum: ⁊ tradiderūt Pontio Pilato preſidi. Tunc videns Judas qui eū tradidit/ quod damnatus eſſet: penitentia ductus/ retulit triginta argenteos p̄ncipibus ſacerdotum ⁊ ſenioribus/ dicens. Peccaui tradens ſanguinem iuſtum. At illi dixerūt Quid ad nos? tu videris. Et proiectis argenteis in templo/ receſſit: ⁊ abiēs/ laqueo ſe ſuſpendit. P̄ncipes autem ſacerdotum acceptis argēteis dixerunt. Non licet eos mittere i corbanan: quia pretiū ſanguinis eſt. Conſilio autem inito/ emerūt ex illis agrum figuli/ in ſepulturam peregrinorum. Propter hoc vocatus eſt ager

PAGE FROM TORY'S PARIS *HORÆ*, 1527.

pares us for the sentimental and even meretricious style in which some of the designs, noticeably that of the B. Virgin at her prayers, are conceived. M. Bernard, who calls attention sardonically to two unlucky errors which Dibdin makes in a single line, is very severe on this edition, which he describes as, 'assez mal exécuté sous le rapport artistique comme sous le rapport typographique.' 'Les cadres,' he continues, 's'accordent mal, les proportions sont fort irrégulières, et la gravure ne m'en semble pas irréprochable.' Much of this censure is certainly justified, and I cannot help thinking that Tory in this edition was deliberately lending himself to a rather inartistic method of decoration. Books of Hours in France had, at the outset, been regarded by the illuminators as cities of refuge to which they might flee in the dearth of employment inflicted on them by the invention of printing, and they duly succeeded in degrading and spoiling most of the best fifteenth century *Horæ*, Pigouchet's finest work suffering most of all. Now about the time that Tory began to work, there had been some revival of illumination in France, and he himself is said to have illuminated several manuscript *Horæ*, though the authenticity of those ascribed to him is not unimpeachable. His 1525 edition had not escaped the illuminators—a copy in the Bodleian is a proof of this—and it seems to me probable that his new designs were especially prepared with a view to being coloured. Mr. Fisher's copy is uncoloured, the Bodleian, for the most part, coloured, by no means skilfully. Yet poorly as the work is done, it seems to complete the design in a way which we seldom feel to be the case in other *Horæ*.

Whether this same theory applied to the third edition we have to consider, that of February 8,

1529, is a difficult question. The Bodleian copy, from which our illustrations (plate iii.) are taken, is coloured throughout, and forms a most charming little book. In the British Museum there is an uncoloured copy of a reprint by Olivier Mallard in 1542 (M. Bernard describes a copy dated the previous year), in which these same cuts reappear, surrounded by floral borders of the same character as those in the 1527 edition, only much smaller. This also is a delightful book, though the separation of the two halves of the pictures by the flower-borders is a serious artistic blot. Coloured or uncoloured, I think we have here Tory's work at its best. The extraordinary optical illusion by which the pillar and St. Joseph's hand combine to give the kneeling Magus a second head, is unlucky, and the feet of his stately companion seem too far in front of the body for it long to retain its dignified attitude. But how fine a fellow the Mage is, and how fine, in his own way, is the announcing angel! Tory comes nearer here than in any other of his works that I have seen to the attainment of charm, and the thinness and angularity which mark his earlier designs have wholly disappeared.

ALFRED W. POLLARD.

NOTICES

Die Italienischen Buchdrucker- und Verlegerzeichen bis 1525 *herausgegeben* von Dr. Paul Kristeller. (Strassburg: J. H. E. Heitz.)

IF our sole object in reviewing Dr. Kristeller's book were to do justice to its author we should have to point out at length its importance as a contribution to the history both of printing and wood-engraving in Italy. From the first point of view the near approach of these 351 reproductions to completeness makes them valuable to students of early printing, especially to those whose interest in it extends to the first quarter of the sixteenth century, where they no longer have the help of Hain's *Repertorium*. It would often be impossible to identify the printers of Italian chap-books were it not for the devices which they used in them, and Dr. Kristeller's reproductions and elaborate index, which includes monograms and initials, will now considerably lighten the task. To the student of art the book will be interesting as showing how the change which wood-engraving underwent, especially at Venice, at the turn of the century, extended also to such comparatively humble subjects as these devices. But printers' marks form a small subject by themselves, and we wish to devote the little space we can spare to Dr. Kristeller's book to showing in what way he has helped forward their systematic study, hitherto almost entirely neglected.

In treating the history of printers' marks in a scientific manner, Dr. Kristeller has been preceded only by Dr. Barack, whose work on the Alsatian marks is published in the same series, and is only less interesting because the Alsatian marks are inferior artistically to the Italian, and do not form a natural subdivision by themselves. Both writers agree in rejecting the theory that the devices, during the period of their chief importance, were used as trade-marks for the protection of books against piratical imitations. In Italy, as Dr. Kristeller shows, it is peculiarly easy to prove that they were regarded merely as ornaments. With the exception of a stray mark used here and there by some German printer, such as Sixtus Riessinger, they are not found in Italy until after 1480. Like woodcuts, they were seldom used in works intended for wealthy book-lovers, but occur chiefly in cheap illustrated books, though, in the decay of printing after 1500, their use spread from these to other works of a more serious character. The 351 marks here reproduced belonged, if we have reckoned rightly, to 184 printers or publishers, perhaps a third of the whole number at work in Italy up to 1525, so that plainly many Italian firms never used them at all. A few, on the other hand, were profuse in their employment; for instance, Lucantonio Giunta at Venice had ten different varieties of the Florentine lily, and Filippo Giunta at Florence employed five more. Bernardino Stagnino used nine different marks; Melchior Sessa, seven; Piero Pacini at Florence, six; Giorgio Arrivabene, five; the brothers Johannes and Gregorius de Gregoriis, four. All these are surpassed by Johannes de Legnano and his brothers, of Milan, of whose marks Dr. Kristeller reproduces no less than fourteen.

Dr. Kristeller's monograph embraces the marks both of printer and publishers, and in an interesting passage of his introduction he traces the relation between the two. The printer's mark is almost universally some variation of the circle with a bar across it, standing on which is a twice-barred cross. Many fanciful interpretations of this mark have been proposed, but Dr. Kristeller is content to conjecture that it represents the house-mark of John of Cologne, by whom it was first used in 1481, during his partnership with Jenson, and that other printers imitated it, with numberless variations. Publishers' marks, on the other hand, are much more fanciful and elaborate, punning on their owner's name or being taken from his native town, like Giunta's Florentine lily and Pacini of Pescia's fish. At first the printer's mark is the only or the more important one; then the publisher's disputes pre-eminence with it, and gradually qusts it altogether. The struggle between the marks of printer and publisher was, indeed, only the struggle between the colophon and the title-page in another form, and, as the title-page gradually won the day, and came to include upon its face the information as to where the book could be bought, the publisher's mark was naturally also placed on the title-page, while that of the printer either disappeared altogether or maintained its position only at the end of the book, now no longer the post of honour.

A Catalogue of a portion of the Library of Edmund Gosse. By R. J. Lister. Privately printed.

THE desire to insure his more valuable books against fire caused Mr. Gosse to have a list made of them. The catalogue aroused the interest of

Mr. Gosse's friends, who demanded copies, and hence sprang into existence this handsome volume, fifty-five copies of which have been subscribed for by friends, while the remaining ten were left to the owner's disposition. We think that Mr. Gosse is to be congratulated. By his own account he is a poor man (a relative term, however), and yet he has formed a collection which, from two points of view, is probably unique. Like all wise collectors he has specialised, and, like the wise collector who is also 'poor,' he has chosen as his special subjects two fields, both of which at the time he began collecting were little occupied, and one of which, we imagine, he has still very nearly to himself. This latter is the field of the first editions of the Restoration dramatists. Of these Mr. Gosse boasts that his library contains between three and four hundred, a number greater than is to be found in any other collection, public or private, with which he is acquainted, and which lacks but little of completeness.

More interesting in our eyes are the privately printed books of our own day by authors whose friendship it was Mr. Gosse's good fortune to make ere yet their fame was in all men's mouths. Among these are a complete set of early 'Stevensons,' booklets so little known beyond the circle of the author's literary friends that a brief description of some of them may be found interesting. *The Pentland Rising: a page of history*, written when he was sixteen on the occasion of the second centenary of the Rising, gave this delightful author his first experience of printers' proofs. It consists of twenty pages, was published at Edinburgh by Andrew Elliot, and bears as its motto

'A Cloud of Witnesses ly here
Who for Christ's interest did appear'

from a monument to those who fell at Rullion Green.

Mr. Stevenson's second appearance in print, again anonymously, was characteristic of the lighter side of his genius. It is a delightful piece of fooling, in four pages on ribbed paper (quarto), entitled *The Charity Bazaar*, with 'The Ingenuous Public,' 'His Wife,' and 'The Tout' as the persons of the dialogue. The flowers of the Tout's vocabulary do not prevent the I. P. from conjecturing that what they describe is 'neither more nor less than a Charity Bazaar,' which he justly defines as 'a place where for ulterior purposes amateur goods are sold at a price above their market value.' The Tout answers:

"I perceive you are no novice. Let us sit down, all three, upon the doorsteps, and reason this matter at length. The position is a little conspicuous, but airy and convenient':

and already we are listening to the story-teller of 'The New Arabian Nights.' Eventually the I. P., with pockets and cheque-book exhausted, rides home with his purchases in a van, taking the last opportunity he 'may have for some time of enjoying the costly entertainment of a drive.' In *An Appeal to the Clergy of the Church of Scotland, with a note for the laity*, issued by Blackwood in 1875 at the price of threepence, Mr. Stevenson (still anonymously) reverts to his serious vein, taking as his motto a fine quotation from Archbishop Leighton, and exhorting the ministers to disinterestedness.

By 1880 the author of *An Inland Voyage* was a playwright, and Mr. Gosse is happy in possessing the first edition (1880, pp. 97) of *Deacon Brodie*, in which Mr Stevenson's name is placed before Mr. Henley's on the title-page. *Admiral Guinea*

followed in 1884, and *Macaire* (which has not been reprinted) in 1885; the second edition of *Deacon Brodie*, with Mr. Henley's name before Mr. Stevenson's, appearing in 1888. All these editions seem to have been printed for the use of managers, who were singularly indifferent to their charms, and their present rarity has too probably been enhanced by the existence of waste-paper baskets.

The first edition of *Deacon Brodie* was immediately followed by the Davos-Platz books, *Not I*, and the two parts of the *Moral Emblems* written and illustrated with highly original woodcuts by Mr. Stevenson, and printed at a toy press with the aid of his stepson Mr. Lloyd Osbourne, who himself produced a thrilling romance entitled *The Black Canyon*, also possessed by Mr. Gosse. Of these little eight-page pamphlets the first of the *Moral Emblems*, with its picture 'Trumpeting Jumbo, great and grim' removing a hat from a man's head, while—

'The sacred Ibis in the distance
Joys to observe his bold resistance,

is perhaps the best. When *The Graver and the Pen* was issued in Edinburgh in 1882, both printer and illustrator had attained much greater dexterity. The cuts, indeed, show a really remarkable advance. That of 'the disputatious Pines' has much of the beauty of a Japanese sketch, while 'the Angler and the Clown' offers a curious anticipation of the style of Mr. Ricketts.

hic est nazare
nihc rex iudeor

BIBLIOGRAPHICA

ENGLISH ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS.—A.D. 700–1066

THE history of illumination and book-decoration, as practised in England in the period anterior to the Norman Conquest, has a particular interest which altogether surpasses that of contemporary continental art of the same nature. There still exist, in fairly sufficient numbers, manuscripts produced in our own country, in the three and a half centuries between the years 700 and 1066, which enable us to judge, with something approaching to accuracy, the progress of the art used in their decoration. In them we find two distinct styles: the one having its origin in the north, the other developing in the south, of the kingdom. In the north we have the style introduced from Ireland—a style which may be termed almost purely decorative, in which figure-drawing is of so primitive and barbarous a nature that it counts for nothing from the point of view of art, but in which the marvellous interlaced designs and ribbon and spiral patterns combine to produce decorations of the highest merit, and such as have

no rivals in other schools of illumination. On the other hand, in the style which arose in the south we have figure-drawing largely, and in no small degree successfully, cultivated; and, at the same time, the decorative side of the art is not neglected. This developed, not with the minute accuracy and laborious ingenuity of the Irish school, but with freedom of drawing and some imitation of nature; and it has a very pleasing result.

It does not come within the scope of our subject to trace in detail the rise and development of the Irish school of book-decoration, or to examine its productions on its native soil. We must confine our attention to the result of its importation into England, and to its influence there, as far as that can be traced. The school of the south has a larger claim upon us, and its development and methods of work will be followed in some detail.

The late Professor Westwood in his great work, *Facsimiles of the Miniatures and Ornaments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish Manuscripts*, has attempted briefly, and we think with success, to show that the Irish school of ornamentation not only owes nothing to classical examples, but that it was essentially a native school working out its own ideas, untouched by exterior influences. The careful examination which he bestowed upon the extant specimens of the work of this school, and the comparisons to which he subjected them with the productions of other countries, satisfied him that we can recognise no sufficient resemblance to justify the assumption of relationship with foreign schools. Of course, we do not mean to assert that various imported objects of art, metal-work, carving, or what not, may not at an early period have suggested to the Irish workmen the lines on which their designs

were to be elaborated; but that elaboration followed its own course, and there is nothing in the fully-developed work to indicate external influence, as we understand the word. Westwood defines the different kinds of ornament employed in the decoration of Irish manuscripts to be formed '(1) simply by the use of dots, generally in different coloured inks; (2) by simple lines, straight or curved; (3) by the step-like, angulated patterns; (4) by the Chinese-like Z patterns; (5) by interlaced ribbons; (6) by interlaced zoomorphic patterns; and (7) by the various spiral patterns, which are by far the most characteristic of the whole.' The repetition of these designs, usually set in compartments and arranged either to form full ornamental pages or elaborate initial letters, produces an effect which, regarded as pure ornament, it would be difficult to surpass. There is some reason to assume that the illuminators of the early Irish manuscripts borrowed their patterns from other more early established industries, those of the metal-worker, sculptor, wicker-worker, or in whatever branch of art we may suppose such designs to have been used. This assumption is supported by the sudden appearance of highly-decorated manuscripts at a certain period without earlier specimens to show anything like a gradual development. It would indeed be expecting too much to look for the survival of early manuscripts in such numbers as to afford a complete chain of evidence; but if there had been a gradual growth of book-ornament spreading over a fairly extended period, we should certainly have found fuller traces of it in what survives. If we are right in our belief that the form of writing which was employed in Ireland in the earliest manuscripts was adapted in the sixth century from Roman models in a particular

class of writing, something more than a century of manuscript-production would have elapsed when the brilliantly ornamented pages of the 'Book of Kells,' probably executed towards the end of the seventh century, burst upon us with fully developed designs. It would be out of place to attempt to conjecture to what remote period we are to look for the origin of the Celtic patterns which we meet with in Irish illuminated manuscripts; such speculations may be carried back almost indefinitely with no satisfactory result; but it is significant that the spiral or whorl which Westwood particularises as a specially Celtic detail of ornament is to be seen in the metal-work of shields of British make as early as the first century.

The history of the introduction of the Irish style of book-decoration into the north of England is well known. In consequence of the conversion of Oswald, who became king of Northumberland in the year 635 and who had accepted Christianity during his exile in the Irish monastery of Iona, Aidan, a monk of that house, became the founder of the Northumbrian Church. He was the first bishop of the see of Lindisfarne (Holy Isle), choosing that island on the Northumbrian coast as the seat of his diocese. There was established by the brethren who accompanied him from Iona the famous School of Lindisfarne, which produced a series of finely written and ornamented manuscripts in the Celtic style, examples of which still survive. Of these the most beautiful, as well as the most perfect and highly finished, is the manuscript in the Cottonian collection in the British Museum, which is known as the 'Lindisfarne Gospels,' or 'St. Cuthbert's Gospels,' or the 'Durham Book,' which is about the year 700. The

history of its origin and of its vicissitudes is so interesting that a few words may be said regarding the manuscript. It contains the Four Gospels of St. Jerome's Latin version, written, as appears from a comparatively early record in the volume itself, by Eadfrith, Bishop of Lindisfarne, A.D. 698-721, in honour of his predecessor, St. Cuthbert, who died in 687. Ethilwold, who was bishop from 724 to 740, bound it; and Billfrith the anchorite wrought the jewelled metal-work with which the covers were adorned, no doubt, as we may fairly assume, in the style of the interlaced and other patterns of the ornamental pages of the volume. We are not told who were the artists engaged on these pages, which however were executed under direction of Eadfrith. The particulars here given are derived from a note written at the end of the book by the priest Aldred, an inmate of the house of Lindisfarne, who also added a 'gloss' to the Gospels; that is, he wrote, word for word, between the lines, a translation in English — a priceless monument of the Northumbrian dialect of the tenth century, the period to which the writing of Aldred is to be assigned. Aldred, it is true, gives no authority for the tradition regarding the origin of the manuscript which he transmits; and we must bear in mind that he writes more than two hundred years after the death of Eadfrith. On the other hand, the general accuracy of his statements may, we think, be accepted, for the manuscript must have been held in too much esteem in the monastery for the details of its history to have been forgotten, although they may perhaps have been magnified. There is one pleasing touch of nature in the worthy Aldred's memorandum which deserves record. After speaking of himself as

all the self-abasement—'indignus et miserrimus'—which natural or conventional modesty demanded, he affectionately remembers his parents, and takes care to tell us who they were—Alfred, and 'a good woman, Tilwin.'

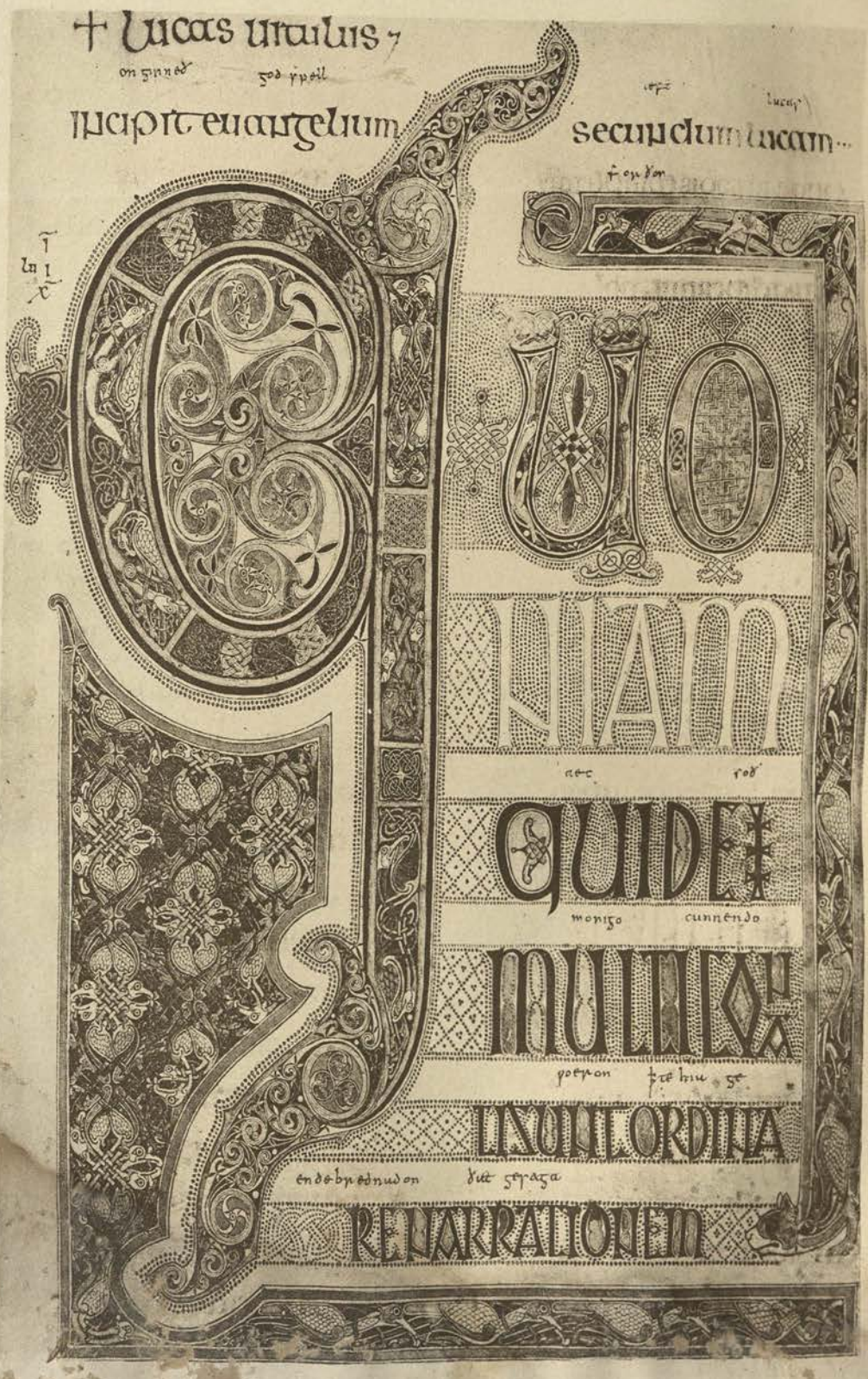
The manuscript remained at Lindisfarne till the time of the Danish invasion in 875, when it was carried away for safety together with the shrine of St. Cuthbert; and, as we are told by the historian, Simeon of Durham, who wrote early in the twelfth century, it was lost overboard during an attempted voyage to Ireland, and was only recovered by the intervention of St. Cuthbert himself. Afterwards it was kept at Durham, but was subsequently restored to Lindisfarne, when the priory was rebuilt as a cell to Durham Priory, and remained there until the dissolution of the monasteries. Nothing is known of its later history to the time when it came into the possession of Sir Robert Cotton, that great collector to whom we owe the preservation of so many treasures of the art and learning of the Middle Ages, who purchased it from Robert Bowyer, Clerk of the Parliaments, in the reign of James the First; and then its jewelled covers had disappeared.

The ornamentation of the volume is most perfect. The first page of each Gospel and two other pages, six in all, are in large letters of the most elaborate designs, with borders; and on a leaf prefixed to each Gospel and on one accompanying the first preface is a full-page painting or cruciform design, worked with all the wonderful combination of geometrical and interlaced and spiral patterns of the Celtic school. Besides, decoration, in keeping with these more elaborate pages, is applied to the Eusebian Canons and to the principal initial letters of the text. There are likewise four interesting

portraits of the Evangelists. They are copied from Byzantine models; and, although the artist's method of expressing his ideas may be peculiar, there is to be seen in them an attempt to render the originals with something approaching to accuracy, and we are rid of the extraordinary barbarism of the figure-drawing of Irish manuscripts. The difficulty of representing the folds of the draperies has proved too much for the artist's powers, who has indicated them, not by shading, but by streaks of paint of a different colour from that in which the robes themselves are painted; and in the faces the shadows of the features are marked out with lines of green paint. But, it may be asked, how and whence would the Lindisfarne draughtsman obtain the Byzantine drawings which served as his models? And it is seldom that one is in a position to give so satisfactory an answer to such a question as can be given in this instance. We know, in fact, that the text of the Durham Book is copied from a manuscript of the Gospels which was brought into this country by one of the missionaries from Rome. This knowledge we owe to the acute investigations of Dom Germain Morin, who has shown in the *Revue Bénédictine* (Nov.-Dec. 1891, pp. 481, 529) that the 'Capitula,' or tables of sections which accompany the several Gospels follow the Neapolitan use; and that Adrian, the companion of the Greek Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, in his mission to Britain in the year 668, was abbat of a monastery in the island of Nisita, near Naples. That the two missionaries visited Lindisfarne we know from the pages of Bede, and we thus complete the chain. There can be no reasonable doubt that the Neapolitan manuscript from which the Durham Book

derived its text was one which had been brought a few years previously from Naples by the abbat Adrian; and we venture to think that the drawings of the Evangelists which we are now considering were also very probably copied from others executed in the Byzantine style in that manuscript. Knowing, as we do, the influence exercised, particularly in Southern Italy, by Byzantine art, the supposition of the existence of such Byzantine models in a manuscript written and ornamented in Naples is in no way unreasonable. It is, of course, also possible that the English drawings may have been copied from actual Greek originals existing in some Greek manuscript left at Lindisfarne by Theodore or Adrian; and the occurrence on the copies of the titles of the Evangelists in Greek would at first sight appear to support this view. But we think that their half-Latinised forms, *e.g.* 'O AGIOS MATTHEUS,' 'O AGIUS MARCUS,' indicate that the original drawings and inscriptions had passed through an intermediate process; that is, that actual Greek drawings and inscriptions did not come before the Lindisfarne draughtsman, but that he drew from copies, such as might have adorned the Latin Gospels of the abbat Adrian, wherein the Greek words had received Latin modifications. We can hardly believe that he would have had Greek enough to make such alterations himself, and we prefer to think that, following the usual practice, he copied exactly what he saw.

The page of the Durham Book which has been selected for reproduction, on a reduced scale, in Plate I, contains the commencement of St. Luke's Gospel, 'Quoniam quidem multi conati sunt ordinare narrationem,' and has been chosen because it is composed of a fairly representative variety of the


+ Lucas uirtutis 7
incipit euangelium
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QUO
NIAM
QUIDE
MULTI EXP
LIXUNT ORDINA
RE NARRATIONEM

1. (IV.)

different patterns employed in the decoration of the volume. It would be quite impossible to reproduce by any mechanical process the exquisite colouring of the original, which with its thickly-laid pigments resembles a specimen of beautifully-finished porcelain or enamel. The outline of the large Q is black, edged on the inner side with bands of straw-yellow. The spirals in the space within the bow of the letter are coloured with violet, light green, red, blue, and yellow; and the little triangular space in the centre is filled with gold—the only instance of the use of that metal in the whole design. Gold is not found at all in native Irish manuscripts, and is applied very sparingly in this masterpiece of the school of Lindisfarne. The interlacings on the bow of the letter are in sections of red and blue; those on the stem are in black and white. The birds and lacertine creatures are green, and white, and yellow; but the two birds at the bottom of the stem are coloured red, blue, violet, and yellow. The circles and spirals in the terminals are green, red, and violet. The borders and the corner-piece are edged with violet. In the corner-piece the birds have white wings and heads, yellow legs and crests, and green and blue necks, and, in addition to the interlacing of necks, crests, and legs, they are further linked together with intertwining red ribbons. In the lower border the birds have white wings edged with yellow, yellow legs and heads, and blue and red tails. In the side border there are the same colours, differently disposed. The cat's head which terminates the side-border is yellow with white muzzle; the fore-legs are blue. And this extraordinary creature's hind-legs and tail are at the other end of the border, which thus does duty for its body. Of the ornamental letters the U and C

are coloured in harmony with the rest of the page. The dotted patterns are red. We feel that we ought to apologise for this detailed and, we fear, tedious account of the colouring of this beautiful specimen of Lindisfarne work; but in default of the actual colours in our plate, a literal description is the only means of giving an idea of the original. Nothing can excel the harmony of the whole composition, which can only be realised by inspection of the manuscript itself.

But at the period when this beautiful book was produced, the Celtic style of ornamentation was already known also in the southern part of England. It may have been directly introduced by Irish monks at such a centre as Glastonbury; or, what is more probable, the connection between Lindisfarne and that house, which we know existed, may have made it quickly known in the south. At Canterbury it was practised as early as the beginning of the eighth century. Of that time we have a valuable manuscript in which we find ornamentation of this type executed with great skill; and side by side with it, an instance of the adaptation of Roman art by native draughtsmen. Nothing can be more interesting for our subject than thus to see the two styles, the Celtic from the north and the classical from abroad, meeting on one page in a volume produced in the city which was the gateway for the entrance of Roman art into the country. The manuscript is a Psalter in the Cottonian collection in the British Museum, bearing the press-mark Vespasian A. i. It belonged to the Abbey of St. Augustine, and was no doubt written and ornamented in that house. And it is not only on account of its ornamentation that it is of interest; for the character of the writing is also

significant and supports the view that the manuscript may, in fact, be a copy of one of the volumes which were imported into England by the followers of St. Augustine. The text of the Psalms is in Roman uncial letters, a form of writing which never obtained favour with English scribes; and certain portions of the manuscript are copied in Roman rustic capitals, which were even still less adopted by them. An early tradition has even pronounced the manuscript to be one of the very volumes which were sent to St. Augustine by Pope Gregory, as recorded by Bede. Thomas of Elmham, who wrote at the beginning of the fifteenth century a chronicle of St. Augustine's Abbey, describes two Psalters, which he appears to include among the gifts which were presented by St. Augustine to Peter the first abbat; and the description of one of them so nearly suits the Cottonian manuscript that it is difficult not to believe that it is the actual volume to which Elmham refers. Of course, if it had any claim to the distinction of being one of St. Augustine's own manuscripts brought into this country from Rome, the presence in it of Anglo-Irish work could hardly be accounted for. However, it is not necessary to discuss the point. With our better opportunities for comparison, there can no longer be any question of the real age of the manuscript, and of the country where it was written and ornamented.

The decoration of the volume chiefly consists of initial letters designed in the Celtic style, but with certain modifications which betray foreign influence. Gold, which, as has already been observed, is nowhere found in Irish manuscripts, and is but sparingly used in the productions of the Lindisfarne school, is here applied with profusion; and on its

surface delicate patterns were traced in black—a rare process, as it appears. We can scarcely doubt that this more magnificent and costly method of decoration was suggested by the illuminated manuscripts of the continent. But the volume also contains a full-page design, to which we have above referred, in which Celtic and Roman art stand side by side. This page is reproduced in our Plate 2. First, examining the decorative portion of the design, we have a solid arch supported on columns, richly ornamented with interlaced and spiral patterns, as well as with lozenges and rosettes. The colours are red, blue, green, lake, and light yellow, on a ground of black; but the marginal bands, the lozenges, and the rosettes are gilded, patterns having been traced on the surface of the gold, as just described. The flaking-off of the metal has to some extent destroyed these delicate designs. The prevalence of the Celtic element is evident enough in these ornaments; the spirals and interlacings are purely Celtic details, and they occupy so much space in the composition that, as a whole, it would be classed as of the Irish type. On the other hand, the foreign element is not wanting, for the three gilt rosettes which stand in the upper part of the arch are such as are found very commonly in Greek and Roman decoration. But turning to the picture, here is nothing Celtic. David is seated on his throne playing on a lyre; on each side stands a scribe, the one holding a scroll and stilus, the other a set of tablets and a stilus;[1] and in the foreground are two boys or

[1] The scroll in the hand of the scribe on the left is no doubt meant for a papyrus roll (*volumen*). It is remarkable, though probably nothing more than a coincidence, that, in two instances in the Assyrian bas-reliefs in the British Museum, the scribes who are taking note of spoils are represented in pairs, one scribe using a tablet, the other a scroll. The tablets would be used for the rough draft, the roll for the fair copy.

young men dancing between two horn-blowers and two trumpeters. The prevailing colours are stone-blue, green, red, and brown. David's nimbus and the framework of the throne are gilt, and the lyre and the cross-pieces in the legs of the throne are in silver. At a glance the design proclaims itself to be of Roman origin; and it is evident that the draughtsman—whom we may confidently assume to have been one of the native inmates of St. Augustine's Abbey—has done his best to make a faithful copy of the Roman original before him, without any addition or peculiar treatment of his own. The Cottonian Psalter is, then, as we have seen, a very valuable record for the history of the early book-decoration of England; and, if we are right in believing that its text may have been actually copied from one of St. Augustine's own manuscripts, and that the picture before us may be a reproduction of a classical model, we have in it a link which connects English art with the time of the Roman missionaries.

That the Celtic style of ornament was followed at Canterbury to a later date is shown in the decorated pages of a fragmentary copy of the Gospels among the Royal MSS. (I E. vi.) in the British Museum (see Westwood, *Miniatures and Ornaments*, p. 39), a manuscript of the latter part of the eighth century, which also belonged to St. Augustine's Abbey, and which, it may be added, appears also to have been one of the volumes which Thomas of Elmham enumerates as having been sent by Pope Gregory to St. Augustine. The northern style, however, was now on the decline. Soon we find quite a different class of ornamentation prevailing in the south of England, based upon a free style of drawing and retaining only

a partial reminiscence of the interlacings of the Irish school. This new southern style was founded, as we shall presently see, on late classical, or perhaps we should rather say semi-classical, models, not of the broad type of the drawing in the Cottonian Psalter just described, but of a light and more graceful character. The influence of Roman models of the style of the Psalter drawing is not to be traced very clearly in English manuscripts. That such models, however, were not altogether neglected may be inferred from the style of certain miniatures in the manuscript which is known as the Psalter of King Æthelstan, and which may have actually belonged to him (Cottonian MS., Galba A. xviii.). This little volume, of foreign origin, appears, like another manuscript in the same collection, to have been sent as a present to the English king by the Emperor Otto I., who married in 929 Eadgyth, the half-sister of Æthelstan. The miniatures to which we have referred are insertions by English hands of the tenth century, and are evidently strongly influenced by later Roman or Byzantine models (see Westwood, *Miniatures and Ornaments*, p. 96). But generally the decorations of English manuscripts of this period are of that lighter style, the development of which we will now endeavour to trace.

In contrasting this, the southern style, with the productions of the Celtic school, we have, at the beginning of this article defined it as one in which figure drawing was more specially developed. This figure-drawing is distinguished by the general lightness and delicacy of outline, the elongation of the limbs, a strange humping of the shoulders or back, in some instances almost amounting to deformity, and the peculiar treatment of the drapery

to which the epithet of 'fluttering' has been given in order to describe its appearance as though agitated by the wind. In this style of drawing our Anglo-Saxon ancestors were particularly successful, and attained in some instances to a beauty and grace nowhere to be found in the contemporary manuscripts of the Continent, which are adorned on the more gorgeous lines of the Byzantine school. So national did this free style become, that there has been a tendency—which we think has been carried too far—to appropriate all drawings of this nature to our own country. On the contrary, it can be shown that, at least in some instances, such drawing was practised down to the tenth century, under Anglo-Saxon influence it may be, but certainly outside this country. And for its origin we must look abroad. The classical details in the earliest extant example of the style are too manifest to allow us to suggest any other country than Italy for its birth. This example is the manuscript known as the Utrecht Psalter, which once belonged to the library of Sir Robert Cotton, but is now in the University Library of Utrecht. Its antiquity, like that of other volumes whose classical details misled the experts of the day, was formerly overestimated. Its actual date may be fairly placed about the year 800; but what gives it a peculiar value is, that it has all the appearance of being practically a facsimile copy of a much earlier manuscript. Both in the character of the writing, and, we may also fairly assume, in that of the drawings, the ancient style is pretty faithfully reproduced. The ancient Rustic-capital writing, which passed out of general use for the text of manuscripts some hundreds of years earlier, is employed in this volume, the scribe no doubt finding that he could

thus most conveniently maintain the same setting of the text as in the archetype, and could thus leave the necessary spaces for the insertion of the drawings in conformity with those of the older volume, which we may very reasonably assume to have been at least as early as the fifth century.

The drawings, which are numerous, illustrate the Psalms most literally, and contain an infinite variety of subjects; and they are executed with no mean skill. Until recently they were thought to be the production of English artists; but this view can no longer be maintained, for internal palæographical evidence leaves no room for doubt that the manuscript is of Frankish workmanship. We are probably not far wide of the mark in adjudging it to the north or north-east of France. Here, then, we have evidence of the early existence on the Continent of the style of drawing which afterwards took root and flourished so successfully in our own country; and, as we have said, the classical elements point decidedly to its ultimate Roman origin.

The Utrecht Psalter appears to have been one of the imported volumes on which the English style was to form itself. We have two later copies of the Psalter illustrated with similar, though not exactly the same, drawings as in that manuscript: the one of the eleventh century, Harleian MS. 603, in the British Museum; the other, known as the Eadwine Psalter, of the twelfth century, at Cambridge. With the latter volume we are not now concerned, as it does not fall within the period with which we are dealing. It is quoted only as an instance to show how popular the illustrated Psalter of the type of the Utrecht MS. became in England. The Harleian MS. is made up exactly in the same way as the Utrecht Psalter, that is, the text is

3. (VI.)

written in triple columns (not, however, in capitals as in the older manuscript, but in the ordinary Caroline type of minuscules of the time), and the drawings extend across the full breadth of the page. Many of the later are the same as those in the Utrecht MS., some indeed being so exactly similar in design that they might have been copied from that volume; but generally additions are introduced and there are variations in the costume; and, again, many are altogether different. The Harleian MS. is therefore not a copy of the Utrecht Psalter itself, and leads us to infer from its variations that other versions of the illustrated Psalter were in existence in England at an early date. The drawing which we here give, on a reduced scale (*Plate* 3), from the Harleian MS. illustrates the 9th Psalm; but it is not easy to find in the words of text a certain explanation of all of the different scenes. God is seated in the Heavens 'judging right' (v. 4); the groups of men being slain are the enemy who are 'turned back and fall and perish' (v. 3); on the right, the heathen are rebuked (v. 5), and the idol falls from its base; in the centre are the destroyed cities (v. 6); in the foreground, the three figures seated in the canopied hall appear to be engaged in 'ministering judgment to the people in uprightness' (v. 8); and, on the left centre, the wicked are being 'turned into hell' (v. 17), which is represented as a flaming tower. The walled city on the left is probably intended for Zion, the Psalmist standing above the gate and 'showing forth praise' (v. 14); and the building on the hill on the right, from which one of the group of figures has apparently emerged, may perhaps illustrate the gates of death (v. 13). This drawing is almost an exact replica of the corresponding

drawing in the Utrecht Psalter. There is the same pose of the figures, the same elongation of the limbs, and the same treatment of the draperies. Here, however, the outlines are variously drawn in colours, blue, red, and green being used as well as ordinary ink.

It may here be remarked that the practice of the Anglo-Saxon artists of copying drawings from older and foreign models has scarcely been sufficiently considered by writers on the manners and customs of our forefathers, and that too much in these drawings has been assumed to be purely English. It is true that the later artists would introduce certain modifications; and it may be readily granted that to some extent they adapted details in their work, such as arms and dress, to suit the objects of their own time and country; but it is also quite as certain that they still copied exactly very much that they saw in their originals, and that many of the illustrations that appear in our histories and costume-books as English are only travesties of the early classical models.

As the Harleian Psalter forms so valuable a link in the history of Anglo-Saxon drawing, we have taken it out of its true chronological order if we regard the period at which it was actually executed. For we have examples of this particular class of drawing dating from the previous century, the period in which it appears to have attained its full development in England. But before we proceed to notice the manuscripts which we select in order to illustrate our subject as being of undoubted English workmanship, one must engage our attention which has been described by Professor Westwood, *Miniatures and Ornaments*, p. 107, as a specimen of English production, 'the drawings of

which,' he says, 'are of great value as containing a series of representations of the habits and customs, dresses, arms, etc., of the later Anglo-Saxons,' but which we venture to think is of foreign origin. This is an illustrated copy of the 'Psychomachia,' an allegorical Latin poem on the subjection of the vices by the virtues,* written in the fourth century by Aurelius Prudentius, an officer of high military rank, who was born in Spain, and who solaced himself in retirement by composing this and other poems of a like character. The 'Psychomachia,' like the illustrated Psalter, appears to have been a favourite work for reproduction in this country, as there still survive several copies with illustrative drawings of the Anglo-Saxon period. But the manuscript in question, which formerly belonged to Archbishop Tenison's library and is now in the British Museum (Additional MS., 24199), was certainly written abroad, and we believe that its drawings were also executed on the continent. The writing is distinctly of the type which has been called Caroline minuscule, as used in the Frankish Empire in the ninth and tenth centuries. The hand was certainly adopted occasionally by English scribes of the latter century, but they stamped a character of their own upon it which is not to be mistaken. In this manuscript, which is of the latter part of the tenth century, there is no trace of the English impress upon the writing; it is altogether of the foreign type, and was probably written in the north of the Frankish Empire, perhaps in the district now the Netherlands. From the evidence of a few stray notes which have been added, we gather that the manuscript had already been brought to England in the early part of the fourteenth century; but there is nothing to show

whether it was in this country at an earlier date. Now turning to the drawings, we find that a series of them has been added, to the extent of two-thirds of the poem, in the spaces left vacant by the scribe for their insertion, and that they are executed in the light sketchy style adopted by the Anglo-Saxon artists. At the same time the classical elements in the designs are very evident, and there is no doubt that they are copies of an earlier series. If we are right in our opinion that the manuscript was written abroad, these drawings must also be of foreign execution; for that they are contemporaneous with the writing is proved by the accommodation of certain contemporary marginal commentaries to keep clear of the space occupied by the drawings. They could not, therefore, be the work of Anglo-Saxon artists after the introduction of the manuscript into England; and that they are the work of Anglo-Saxon artists abroad is hardly probable. We have then in this series of drawings strong presumptive evidence that even as late as the tenth century the copying of earlier models in the light outline which became so popular in England was not confined to this country, and that on the continent, at all events in the districts opposite to our southern shore, the same style of book-decoration as our own was cultivated. It is indeed only reasonable to suppose that such should have been the case; and it is not impossible that the wide practice of this particular form of drawing in this country may have influenced the work of the artists across the channel.

To return to the Tenison 'Psychomachia,' the spaces left to receive illustrations for the rest of the poem have been only partially filled with tentative sketches, some very rough and inartistic and

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BOMBAY
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(1)

(2)

(3)

seemingly of later date, others, again, executed with very considerable skill by contemporary hands. We select from the latter a very prettily-drawn scene which illustrates the line 'Cornicinum curva æra silent; placabilis implet Vaginam gladius,' etc., and a single figure from another page (Plate 4, nos. 1, 2) which, in the treatment of the drapery and the wrinkled hose and sleeves, so closely resemble the Anglo-Saxon style. This manuscript too affords us an interesting instance of a peculiar method of work followed in the production of illustrated manuscripts. Some of the drawings are accompanied with descriptive titles, as in the case of the first scene in the Plate. These were written by the scribe, not by the artist, before the drawings were executed; as is proved by the occurrence of titles in spaces which are still devoid of drawings. The scribe, in fact, copying from an earlier example, could exactly space out the words of the titles to fit the artist's copies. In one or two instances, the text itself is spaced out to admit of the insertion of drawings.

As a companion to the two specimens selected from the Tenison MS., we have added to the same Plate an interesting example from another copy of the same poem. But the manuscript from which it is taken is altogether English, both in writing and ornamentation. It is the Cottonian MS., Cleopatra C. viii., of the first half of the eleventh century. The scene represents Humility taking flight to Heaven in the presence of the Virtues:—

—— 'auratis præstringens aera pennis
In celum se virgo rapit; mirantur euntem
Virtutes, tolluntque animos in vota volentes
Ire simul'——

The flying figure of Humility is particularly graceful

and is only marred by the exaggeration of the open hand, a fault which appears also in the other figures. The difficulty which, in the early stages of art, seems always to have been experienced by the artist when dealing with the open hand or naked foot appears to be more prominently brought before us in Anglo-Saxon outline drawings. When the hand is clasped or the foot is booted, a fairly true proportion is observed. Sometimes the fault of drawing even goes to the other extreme, and the booted feet of women are often drawn abnormally small. But, when the fingers of the open hand or the toes of the naked foot have to be drawn, the details are immediately exaggerated.

Judging from the examples which have descended to us, the southern style of Anglo-Saxon book-ornamentation seems to have been brought to the highest perfection at Winchester, as one would naturally expect to be the case in the chief city of the kingdom and under the patronage of the successive kings from the latter part of the tenth century down to the period of the Norman Conquest. Many of the finest extant manuscripts of this class were produced in the great religious houses of that city; and of these the most beautiful and elaborate is the Benedictional of St. Æthelwold, the property of the Duke of Devonshire and justly described by Westwood as 'the noblest of all the surviving productions of later Anglo-Saxon art.' It contains the ancient benedictional of the see of Winchester, and was written and ornamented under the direction of Æthelwold, who succeeded to the bishopric in 963 and died in 984. The date of the manuscript may therefore be placed about the year 970. It has as many as thirty illuminated miniatures and thirteen other ornamental pages, and

5. (VIII.)

originally contained even more, as some have evidently been cut out of the volume. To get an idea of the colouring of the miniatures, nearly all of which are fully painted and profusely gilded, the reader must refer to Westwood's *Miniatures and Ornaments*, plate xlv. As we have already noted above, in the case of the Cottonian Psalter (Vespasian A. i.), the extensive use of gold as a means of decoration in these grand examples of southern work is no doubt to be attributed to the increasing influence of the Byzantine school of ornamentation which held sway on the continent. We have to content ourselves here with presenting a reduced reprint (Plate 5, the Adoration of the Magi) of one of the plates in *Archaeologia*, vol. xxiv., where the whole series of miniatures is very carefully engraved, which will convey a fairly sufficient idea of the finished drawing and elaborate ornamentation of the original.

As a specimen of the best style of the figure-drawing of this school we place before the reader a very beautiful miniature (Plate 6) of the Crucifixion from the Harleian MS. 2904, which is of the same age as the Æthelwold Benedictional and was also probably executed at Winchester. Westwood has eulogised this miniature as the finest of its kind. The outlines and modelling of the limbs and other details are drawn in a pinkish bistre, and the underrobes of the Virgin and St. John in pale blue. Importance is given to the figure of the Saviour, in the usual manner, by rendering the accompanying figures on a smaller scale; but, in order to maintain symmetry in the design and to bring them into proper position, the latter are placed upon two mounds. While the drawing has the good qualities of grace and refinement, the faults of the school, to

which we have above referred, are conspicuous in the drawing of the hands and naked feet of the disciple, and in the hump-backed pose and disproportionate smallness of the lower part of the figure as well as of the feet of the Virgin.

Our remarks on the southern school of Anglo-Saxon art have been chiefly confined to the drawing of the figure-designs or miniatures; but a few words must be given to the subject of its decoration. In connection with the miniatures or in full-page ornamental designs the artist most frequently drew a border surrounding the page and composed of conventional foliage interlaced and entwined with the supporting framework of the border. There can be no doubt that the germ of this foliage is to be found in the classical architectural leaf-mouldings which were imitated so much in Frankish illuminated manuscripts, and were conveyed by that channel to the notice of our native artists. A good illustration of this development is before us in the border of the page which has been selected from the Æthelwold Benedictional (Plate 5). In the small compartments of the frame are seen sections of leaf-moulding confined within bounds, as in the case of ordinary architectural decoration; in the large rosettes which form the corner-pieces the foliage is in luxuriant growth and interlaces its shoots and leaves with the framework. The colours which the Anglo-Saxon used in his decorations are usually bright, and the effect of this variety of tints introduced in the border-designs is very pleasing. As has already been said, gold is profusely applied in the manuscripts of Winchester origin; but in other examples we find colours alone employed. Of the latter type is the page which forms the subject of Plate 7, taken from the Arundel MS. 60,

VID
GLA
RIS
IN MALITIA
QVI POENS
ES ININIQVI
TATE

in the British Museum, of the eleventh century. The framework is made of long rods, perhaps osier-wands, which are tinted with pale yellow and are connected together at the corners by rings of the same colour. The foliage is in tints of red, blue, and green, relieved with white, and is laid on a background coloured in sections with stone-blue and green. The initial letter Q is in keeping with the style of the border, and has the same colouring. In general, foliage forms a conspicuous part of the large ornamental initial letters of southern Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, together with interlaced knots —a detail of ornament which, as well as the entwining just described, is doubtless due to the influence of the northern school.

To conclude this article, we will briefly describe a manuscript which is not an artistic work in the way that we may regard the volumes from which the preceding illustrations have been drawn, but which is of so much importance for the insight we obtain from it into the method of work of the Anglo-Saxon book-illustrator, that we may regard its survival as a most fortunate circumstance for the history of English art. It is one of the volumes of the Cottonian collection (Claudius B. iv.) and contains the Anglo-Saxon paraphrase of the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua by Ælfric the Grammarian, written early in the eleventh century and illustrated with numerous coloured drawings. These drawings do not pretend to be artistic; indeed many of them are very rough, the object of the draughtsman being to illustrate the text, not to decorate the book. At the same time some of the series, which are chiefly in outline and only slightly tinted with colour, are not without merit. We give one of them in the upper part of

Plate 8, representing the scene of the journey of Abraham with Lot, and with their herds and flocks, to Bethel, 'unto the place of the altar which he had made there' (Gen. xiii. 4). But the greater number of the drawings in the volume are painted with body-colour, and, as towards the end of the manuscript a large proportion of them are unfinished and have been left in different stages of progress, we see exactly how the work was done. First the colours of the dresses were applied with the brush in patches, without any previous outline being drawn with the pen or pencil, so that a design which has been left in this initial stage has all the appearance of a set of variously coloured stencils laid haphazard across the page. It is, however, quite evident that no mechanical means were employed for marking out the different shapes, but that the artist trusted entirely to his eye to guide his hand. The facility with which this part of his work was composed could only have been the result of considerable practice. Next, the heads, limbs, hands, details of dress, etc., were drawn in outline, the features were added; and the picture was then presumably complete. In the lower part of Plate 8 we have a section from one of these half-finished designs. It represents Moses, with an enormous pair of horns fitted to his head, dividing the promised land among the children of Israel. Here the dresses have been blocked in in body-colour in the way described, and the heads and limbs have been sketched in; the final touches, however, such as the indications of the features, have not been added. But this design, as well as one or two others in the book, is peculiar in having undergone a further treatment from a different hand. It will be seen that the folds of the coats

or tunics of the two figures to the right and left of Moses, and the hands of one of them, are drawn in, above the other work, in the agitated style of Anglo-Saxon art. Whether it was intended thus to finish off the other designs in the manuscript cannot be determined; perhaps not. But, however that may be, this last addition is evidently the work of a skilful artist, who may have been merely exercising his hand on a few figures in an idle moment.

E. MAUNDE THOMPSON.

TWO ENGLISH BOOKMEN

I. SAMUEL PEPYS

OF the many celebrated book collectors who have flourished in England but few relics remain. The libraries which they collected with the expenditure of much labour and money have mostly been dispersed, and information respecting these must be sought in the sale catalogues. Of those few libraries which have come down to our time

intact, one of the most interesting is the Pepysian Library at Cambridge. In an upper room of the building, in the second courtyard of Magdalene College, are carefully preserved the books of Samuel Pepys, in the identical bookcases he had made for their protection, and arranged in the exact order in which he left them.

This building, on which is inscribed the words Bibliotheca Pepysiana,' was not built when the diarist was at College, and at that period there was only one courtyard. The foundation of the second court was laid in 1677, and towards the expenses incurred in building, Pepys contributed money.

The Library was left with the other property to Pepys's nephew, John Jackson, and instructions were given as to its final disposal, although Jackson was allowed a certain latitude in the choosing of its final resting-place. A copy of the paper of directions is preserved among the Harleian MSS. (No. 7301) in the British Museum. This is of considerable interest not merely as expressing the founder's wishes as to the preservation of his library without the admixture of any other books, but also as showing what store he laid upon the value of his collection. He wrote: 'Could I be sure of a constant succession of heirs from my said nephew, qualified like himself for the use of such a library, I should not entertain a thought of its ever being alienated from them. But this uncertainty considered, with the infinite pains and time and cost employed in my collecting, methodising, and reducing the same to the state it now is, I cannot but be greatly solicitous that all possible provision should be made for its unalterable preservation and perpetual security against the ordinary fate of such collections falling into the hands of an incompetent

heir, and thereby being sold, dissipated, or embezzled.'

After the death of Pepys and his nephew, the library was (1) 'to be placed and for ever settled in one of our universities, and rather in that of Cambridge than Oxford;' (2) 'rather in a private college there than in the public library;' (3) 'in the colleges of Trinity or Magdalen preferably to all others;' (4) 'of these two, *cæteris paribus*, rather in the latter, for the sake of my own and my nephew's education therein.'

The Library, which consists of about 3000 volumes, preserved in eleven mahogany book-cases, was not transferred to Magdalene College until the year 1724, and from that time to this it has been most religiously cared for; at one time in the Master's lodge, and now in a fire-proof room specially prepared for it. The cases are mentioned in the Diary under date August 24, 1666: 'Up, and dispatched several businesses at home in the morning, and then comes Sympson to set up my other new presses for my books, and so he and I fell in to the furnishing of my new closett, and taking out the things out of my old, and I kept him with me all day, and he dined with me, and so all the afternoon till it was quite dark hanging things, that is my maps and pictures and draughts, and setting up my books, and as much as we could do, to my most extraordinary satisfaction; so that I think it will be as noble a closet as any man hath, and light enough—though indeed it would be better to have had a little more light.' This room was at the Navy Office in Crutched Friars, and the illustration in the ordinary editions of the Diary shows the position of the cases when they were transferred to the house in York Buildings (now Buckingham

Street, Strand).[1] The presses are handsomely carved, and have handles fixed at each end; the doors are formed of little panes of glass; and in the lower divisions the glass windows are made to lift up. The books are all arranged in double rows; but by the ingenious plan of placing small books in front of large ones, the letterings of all can be seen. Neatness was a mania with Pepys, and the volumes were evened on all the shelves; in one instance some short volumes have been raised to the required height by help of wooden stilts, gilt in front.

The Library consists to a large extent of ordinary useful books, such as histories and books of information, 'without which no library is complete,' but there were also many books of considerable value, and among the early printed ones the Caxtons number as many as nine; there are also several Wynkyn de Wordes and Pynsons. The chief interest of the Library, however, centres in the many unique collections of valuable books and pamphlets on special subjects. The most interesting of the collections is the celebrated one consisting of 1800 English ballads. This was commenced by the great Selden and continued by Pepys. It is arranged under the following heads: (1) Devotion and Morality; (2) History, true and fabulous; (3) Tragedy, viz. murders, executions, judgments of God; (4) State and Times; (5) Love, pleasant; (6) Love, unfortunate; (7) Marriage, cuckoldry; (8) Sea: love, gallantry, and actions; (9) Drinking and good fellowship; (10) Humorous frolics and mirth. This collection is second only in interest and value to the famous Roxburghe Collection, now

[1] An engraving of the Pepysian Library, showing the present position of the book-cases, will be given in one of the volumes of the new edition of the *Diary*, now being published by Messrs. George Bell [illegible].

preserved in the British Museum. In four small duodecimo volumes there are some old garlands of ballads amongst other popular publications; these are lettered as follows: vol. 1. Penny Merriments; vol. 2. Penny Witticisms; vol. 3. Penny Compliments; and vol. 4. Penny Godlinesses. Other collections are lettered 'Old Novels,' 'Loose Plays,' and 'Vulgaria.' There is a small collection of books on Shorthand, some folio tracts on the Popish Plot, and a collection of news-pamphlets for six years, that is, from 1st January 1659-60 to 1st January 1665-66, the time of the commencement of the *London Gazette*.

The valuable manuscripts form a special feature of the Library; among these are many volumes of papers collected by Pepys for his proposed 'Navalia,' and when the time comes for a history of the English Navy to be written, the author will have to consult these manuscripts. The Maitland MS., a well-known collection of Scottish Poetry, named after Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, Lord Privy Seal and Judge in the Court of Session (born 1496, died 1586), who formed it, is a prominent item in this department of the Library. Pinkerton printed selections from these two volumes in 1786. The manuscript, however, of interest above all others is that of the immortal Diary, which is contained in six volumes.

Every reader of the Diary knows what a devoted lover of music Pepys was, and authorities on the subject tell us that his remarks show that he was a very capable musician. He even attempted to invent 'a better theory of music than hath yet been abroad.' He played several instruments, and about twenty of these are mentioned in the Diary. He also amused himself by composing songs, and

four of these are specially referred to by their author, viz.: 'Great, good, and just,' 'Gaze not on swans,' 'It is decreed,' and, chief of all, 'Beauty retire.' This last song was a great triumph, and the composer was very proud when Mrs. Knipp sang it. He affirms that Captain Downing, 'who loves and understands music,' 'extols it above everything he had ever heard.' In the Pepysian Library are some volumes of music with this title, 'Songs and other Compositions, Light, Grave and Sacred; for a single voice adjusted to the particular compass of mine; with a thorough base on ye ghitarr by Cesare Morelli.' Among the 'Compositions Light' is 'Beauty retire,' and among 'Compositions Grave' 'It is decreed,' and a setting of Hamlet's speech, 'To be or not to be.' The 'Compositions Sacred' consist of settings of portions of the Church Service, such as the *Venite*, the *Te Deum*, the Litany, etc.

The collection of drawings and prints is of great value. Among these are portraits of Pepys's friends, views of London and of other places in which he was interested. Unfortunately these rare and valuable illustrations have been cut down and pasted in portfolios with borders around them. Even within living memory men are known to have cut off the margins of their prints, so that we must not be too severe in condemning the taste of a connoisseur of the seventeenth century.

One of the prints preserved by Pepys is the large plan of London attributed to Agas, which was supposed to be unique until a few years ago when another copy was obtained for the Guildhall Library. The Cambridge copy has lately been framed and glazed, and thus preserved from the fingers attendant on handling

The spirit of Samuel Pepys seems to pervade the quiet room containing the Library, and when visiting it one is forced to ask the question, What does the Library tell us of the man? The answer comes quick. It tells us that he was a judicious collector. Although he was a true lover of books, and found it almost impossible to resist the pleasure of buying them, he early determined to keep his collections within reasonable bounds; and not to have more books than his cases would hold. At one time his delight was in a multitude of books, but his taste changed, and he made a practice of weeding out inferior volumes to make room for the better. Among the MSS. is a list headed 'Deleta, 1700,' which contains such notes as these: "Ejected as a duplicate,' 'To give way to the same reprinted,' 'To give way to a fairer edition.' On the 7th of July 1664 Pepys bought 'Shakespeare's Plays.' This was probably the third edition, which had just appeared, though it might have been either the first folio of 1623, or the second folio of 1632, but whichever of these three it happened to be it was replaced in after years by the fourth folio of 1685, which is now in the Library. Another instance of change of editions is found in *Hudibras*, which he first purchased when it came out in December 1662. When he read it he found it silly, and sold it again at a loss. In the following year he tried again to find out the wit, but without success. The edition in the Library is that of 1689, so that the earlier editions must have been exchanged for it.

The Library tells us that Pepys kept his books in good condition. Every book is sound, and with few exceptions bound in calf, and uniform in style. The exceptions are some presentation volumes handsomely bound in morocco by the presenters

The books exhibit the scholarly tastes of their owner. Pepys appears through life to have kept up his acquaintance with the authors whose works he first studied at school and the University, and the Library is well supplied with useful editions of the classics. The great authors of England are represented from Chaucer (Speght's edition of 1602) to those of his own days. Milton's collected works, in the edition of John Toland, 1689, find a place on the shelves, and it is most probable that no edition of the great Puritan's writings was possessed by Pepys until after the Revolution. A curious letter from Daniel Skinner to Pepys, dated from Rotterdam, 19th November 1676, is extant, which shows that a man might be injured in his public career by the rumour that he had the works of Milton in his possession. The Diarist was not the man to run this risk.

The books were constantly being rearranged, and at each rearrangement they were renumbered, so that every book contains several numbers, sometimes as many as six, and the last, which is the one by which the books are still found, is in red ink.

It is not the books only that exhibit the character of the man who gathered them together. The Catalogues and the Indexes which have been preserved show that Pepys was a born bibliographer, and they show how much love, time, and attention was devoted by the busy official to the preservation of his books. There is little doubt that nothing would have pleased Samuel Pepys more than the thought that in the centuries to come men would seek out the place where his library was preserved, and appreciate the taste which had brought it into existence.

H. B. WHEATLEY

II. Henry Fielding

There is a passage in Thackeray's letters to Mrs. Brookfield which—upon one reader at all events—has always jarred unpleasantly. He is writing of Fielding—that Fielding whose reputation his own fine lecture was afterwards to serve so splendidly, and to whose robust genius he himself is not lightly indebted. He says: 'I have just got two new novels from the library by Mr. Fielding; the one is *Amelia*, the most delightful portrait of a woman that surely ever was painted; the other is *Joseph Andrews*, which gives me no particular pleasure, for it is both coarse and careless, and the author makes an absurd brag of his twopenny learning, upon which he values himself evidently more than upon the best of his own qualities.' Now it is not to the *Amelia* part of this utterance that one need object; nor do we desire to defend the grosser lapses of Fielding's burlesque upon Richardson. But, taking into consideration both the speaker and the subject, the little outburst as to 'twopenny learning' is certainly uncalled for. We have it upon Prior's authority that there is no obligation to swear to the truth of a song; and it would be equally superfluous to insist upon the exact justification of every light-hearted *boutade* which might escape a playful writer in a private and familiar correspondence. Something, too, in the latter case, must be allowed for the occasion, for the person addressed, and (to speak paradoxically) for the written tone of voice. But considered for the sake of argument as the serious utterance of one great novelist concerning another, it has always

seemed to us that this particular characterisation is, to say the least, ill-considered. For if Fielding was anything at all, he was a genuine scholar. He had been educated at Eton; and he is declared by his first biographer, Murphy, to have left that place 'uncommonly versed in the Greek authors, and an early master of the Latin classics.' He had also for a short time studied diligently in the University of Leyden, under its professor of Civil Law, the 'learned Vitriarius'; and it is allowed, and is indeed abundantly proved by the notes to the enlarged version of *Tom Thumb*, that, with the excesses of his later life in London, he had managed to combine a remarkable amount of reading at once systematic and recondite. To this he must have added a certain acquaintance with modern languages. 'Tuscan and French are in my head,' he tells us in his rhymed Epistle to Sir Robert Walpole. Nor was his love of the classics confined to his younger days alone. 'He retained his admiration for them,' says Murphy, 'during all the subsequent passages of his life.' The same writer speaks of him as quietly reading Cicero *de Consolatione* in seasons of sorrow and dejection; and he apparently carried a volume of Plato with him on his last pilgrimage in search of health, for even on the 'Queen of Portugal' he quotes a long passage from that philosopher. It is besides to be observed that his learning, as revealed in his books, has generally a singularly spontaneous air. Unless absolutely appropriate to the character represented, it seldom, in *Tom Jones* at all events, is obtruded in the body of the story, but is restricted to those 'prolegomenous, or introductory Chapters,' in which, to use George Eliot's words, the author 'seems to bring his arm-chair to the proscenium and chat with us

in all the lusty ease of his fine English.' Moreover his classical quotations were not sharked out of Burton's *Anatomy* like Captain Shandon's; and however hackneyed they have now become by constant repetition, they must have been fresh enough when he first found them at the end of his pen. In short, as, with regard to this very charge of pedantry, one of his most capable critics has remarked, 'what with some men is ostentation, was in his case the simple application of materials which early habit had made so familiar that they had lost their learned air, and were entirely native to him.' If this be, as we believe it to be, an accurate statement of the case, it completely disposes of that random deliverance of Colonel Esmond's biographer in regard to the market value, in pence, of his predecessor's erudition. And, without for a moment admitting any charge of 'absurd brag,' it is perfectly conceivable that the author of *Joseph Andrews* may not have been unwilling to emphasise the fact that his literary equipment was something widely different from the stock-in-trade of those easy-moralled gentlemen of the pen, his contemporaries, who borrowed their artless Latinity from the mottoes to the *Spectator*, or subsisted fraudulently upon 'Proposals' for fresh translations from the Greek, out of the French of Madame Dacier.

But whatever may have been the precise amount of Fielding's scholarship, there can be no doubt—though the fact has not hitherto been made known—that he was exceptionally well provided with the materials for a scholar's reputation. To the devotees of the time-honoured legend which represents him as scribbling off farce-scenes at tavern tables upon the paper which had wrapped his

tobacco, it will perhaps come as a surprise to hear that he died possessed of an exceedingly well-chosen and 'polite' library of books, as varied in character as Johnson's, more extensive by far than Goldsmith's, and—in the matter of those writers whom Moses Primrose describes comprehensively as 'the Ancients'—as richly endowed as that of Gray. His biographers have made no reference to this fact, probably for the best of all good reasons—that it was not known to them. But in the course of certain minute investigations into the first appearance of the *Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon*, the present penman came unexpectedly on the following notification in the *Public Advertiser* for Thursday, February 6, 1755, four months after Fielding's death at Lisbon. As it is not likely to be often consulted *in situ*, it is here in part transcribed: 'This day is publish'd a Catalogue of the entire and valuable Library of Books of the Late Henry Fielding, Esq., which (by Order of the Administrator) will be sold by Auction, by Samuel Baker, at his House in York Street, Covent Garden, on Monday next, and the three following Evenings, for the benefit of his Wife and Family. Among many other valuable Books are the following in Folio. [Here is printed a double column list.] There are likewise most of the Greek Commentators on Aristotle, and several Books with Mr. Fielding's MSS. Notes.'

The advertisement goes on to say when the collection may be viewed 'till the Time of Sale, which will begin at Half an Hour after Five o'clock' in the evening; and it adds that catalogues can be obtained *gratis* of Mr. Millar in the Strand (Fielding's publisher), Mr. Dodsley of Pall Mall, and others. It was repeated on the 7th and 8th, and on Monday

the 10th, as announced, the sale no doubt began. But of this the *Public Advertiser* makes no further mention. Fortunately one of the catalogues is preserved in the British Museum; and the gentleman to whom it belonged—perhaps Mr. Baker himself—has been obliging enough to price it for the benefit of Posterity. Against nearly every one of the 653 lots it comprises, he has inserted the sum realised, and the total of the four evenings' sale is £364, 7s. 1d., or about £100 more than the public were willing to give in 1785 for the books of Johnson, which also extended to 650 lots, and were in all probability far more numerous. The majority of the amounts at the Fielding sale are small, and prompt the inference that the condition of the volumes must have been indifferent, or the state of the market bad. Of the valuable Folios specified in the advertisement, the Statutes at Large, 34 vols., fetched £10; Rymer's *Fœdera*, 20 vols., £15, 10s.; Buckley's *Thuanus*, 7 vols., £5, 15s.; Bayle's *Dictionary*, 5 vols., £3, 13s. 6d.; Moreri's, 6 vols., £1, 7s.; and the 1578 *Plato* of Serranus (which Fielding quotes in the *Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon*), 2 vols. only out of 3 (?), £5. Grotius, in 4 vols., went for £2, 9s.; Plutarch, the Paris edition of 1624, 2 vols., for £3, 4s., and Homer, with that commentary of Monsieur Eustathius to which the 'great author' makes reference in *Amelia*, for £2, 12s. 6d. Aristotle, strange to say, notwithstanding the stress laid upon him by the auctioneer, is quoted at prices 'which would have puzzled that stout Stagirite.' His *Opera*, Duval's Paris edition of 1619-29 in two folio volumes, once in high repute, was knocked down for 16s., or 3s. less than the Ammianus Marcellinus of Gronovius, 1693, while his Commentators got no higher than

20s.—nay, in some cases, if the fact may be inferred from the absence of any figures opposite their names, they even failed to obtain any purchaser at all. On the other hand, certain folios to which the auctioneer had called no particular attention, realised fair amounts. £6, 10s., for example, was the price paid for the great *History of France* of Monsieur François Eudes du Mezeray, 1643-51, the same edition as that which Matthew Prior left to St. John's College, and for which he wrote the pretty verses that Scott, not long before his death, repeated so significantly to Lockhart:—

'The Man in graver Tragic known
(Tho' his best Part long since was done)
Still on the Stage desires to tarry:
And He who play'd the *Harlequin*,
After the Jest still loads the Scene,
Unwilling to retire, tho' weary.'

Turning the leaves of Mr. Baker's little pamphlet one is struck, as in the case of Johnson, by the absence of copies of the writer's own works. This is the more remarkable because, in Johnson's case, many volumes had confessedly been withdrawn from sale beforehand, but Fielding's Catalogue is described as including his 'entire' library. Such being so, it must be concluded that the only books written by himself which he possessed at his death were two odd volumes of the *Miscellanies* of 1743, two more odd volumes of his most worthless productions, his dramatic works, the second and corrected edition of *Jonathan Wild*, 1754, and the commendable little *Enquiry into the Causes of the late Increase of Robbers*, etc., 1751. There is no copy of *Tom Jones*, of *Amelia*, of *Joseph Andrews*. Nor are there any specimens of his sister's work—*David Simple*, *The Cry*, and the rest, for some of

which he had supplied Prefaces, and more than Prefaces. The same must be said of his periodical and journalistic effects, the *Champion*, the *True Patriot*, the *Jacobite's Journal*, for which last his friend Hogarth had designed the headpiece. On the other hand, there are several works which contain his MS. notes. Wood's *Institutes* (the valuable legal authority relied on by Parson Barnabas) was interleaved and copiously commented; so was Hedericus his *Lexicon*; so was Ainsworth's *Dictionary*. Lastly, there were five folio volumes of Law Manuscripts, which, it must be presumed, did not include the two volumes (also folio) on Crown Law which Fielding left behind unpublished, as these in 1760, according to Murphy, were still in the keeping of his brother and successor. Sir John Fielding had also preserved the laborious excerpts from the Fathers which his brother had made for his projected refutation of Bolingbroke, whose complete works, as we know from Boswell and Garrick's *Ode*, were put forth by Mallet on the very day of the death of Henry Pelham, the patron to whom Fielding dedicated the *Proposal for the Poor*.

'The same sad morn to church and state
(So for our sins 'twas fix'd by fate)
A double stroke was giv'n;
Black as the whirlwinds of the north,
St. J—n's fell *genius* issued forth
And *Pelham's* fled to heav'n.'

Mallet's volumes are not included in the Catalogue, but Fielding must have had them, for he specially refers to them in the posthumous *Fragment of a Comment on L. Bolingbroke's Essays*, which is printed at the end of the *Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon*. With the same *Journal*, it may be added, their date of publication (6th March 1754) is

pathetically connected. 'I was at my worst,' its author writes, 'on that memorable day when the public lost Mr. Pelham.'

But if Mallet's tardy revelation of 'St. John's fell genius' (one remembers Johnson's outburst about the beggarly Scotchman and the blunderbuss!) was not among Fielding's books when sold, being possibly left behind at Lisbon with the missing volume of Plato, there are several other items in the Catalogue of which he speaks expressly in his works, and most of all in the *Journal.* There is the *Hudibras* of Zachary Grey, to whose 'redundant notes' it renders testimony; there are Petty's *Political Arithmetic* and the *Sermons* of South, also mentioned in the same place; there are Banier's *Mythology and Fables of the Ancients explained* (4 vols. 1739) and Miller's *Gardener's Calendar* (1745), to both of which he calls attention in *Tom Jones*; there are *Montaigne* and Baker's *Chronicle* and Steele's Plays, all specifically referred to in *Joseph Andrews.* There is Bishop Burnet's *History of my Own Time,* the great folios of 1724-34, whose editor, Thomas Burnet the Judge, Fielding describes as his 'ever-honoured and beloved friend'; there are Berkeley and Prior on that Tar Water to which he had recourse before leaving England, and which has an earlier claim than Tea to the invaluable property of 'cheering but not inebriating.' Of books inscribed to him, we have only detected the Rev. Francis Coventry's *Pompey the Little,*—a work, by the way, to which, as an accurate picture of contemporary manners, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu has given the highest possible certificate; but, even had his collection been larger and less eclectic, we should scarcely have looked to find in it another performance which

did him the honour of a dedication, to wit, the scurrilous *Apology for the Life of Mr. Bampfylde Moore Carew, commonly call'd the King of the Beggars*. There are, however, certain works absent from his shelves which might reasonably have been found there. He must assuredly at some time—if only for business purposes—have owned a copy of *Pamela*; and his mention of *Clarissa* in the *Jacobite's Journal*, with its admirably apposite quotation from Horace:—

> '. . . Pectus inaniter angit,
> Irritat, mulcet, falsis terroribus implet
> Ut Magus . . .'

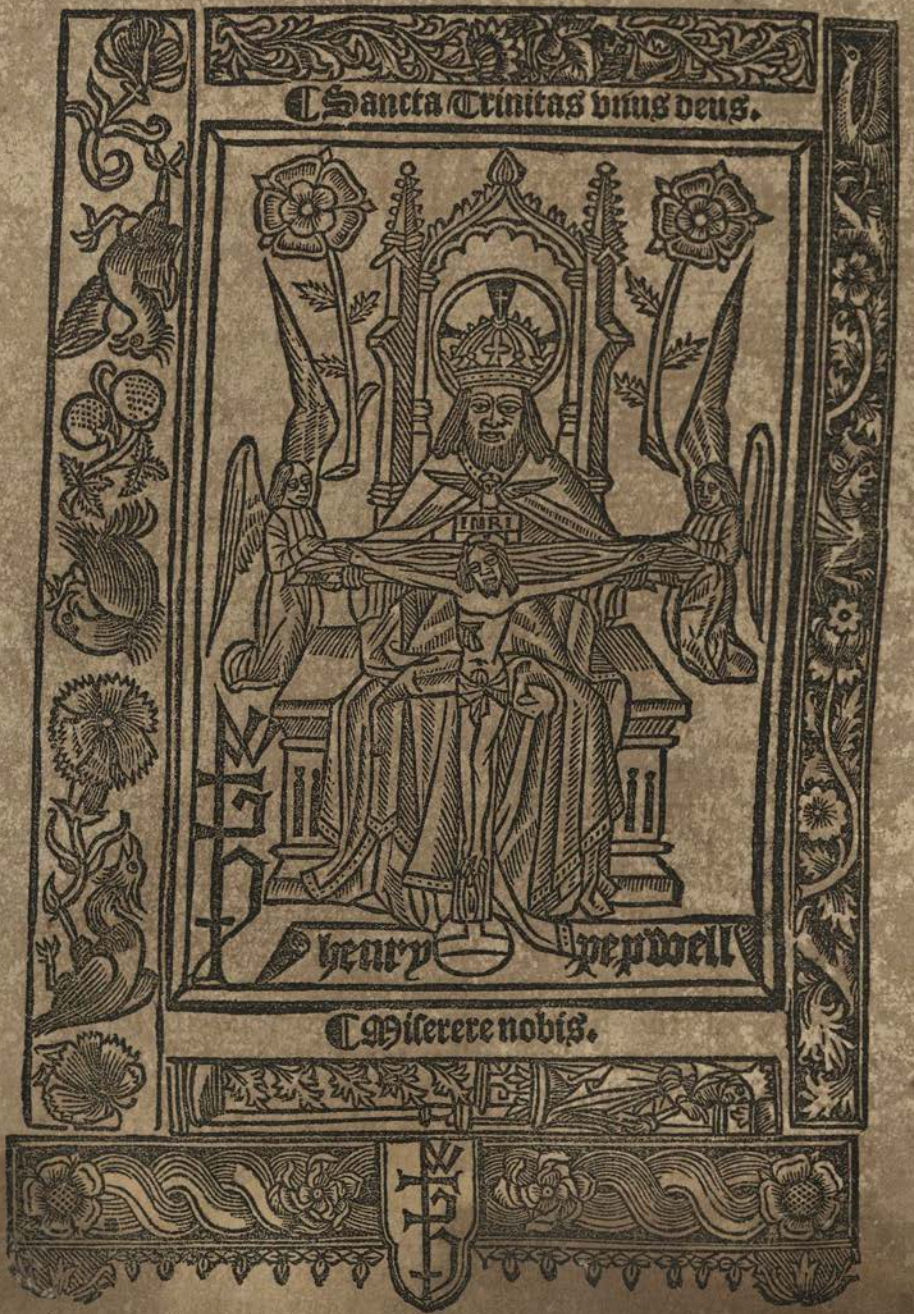
shows that he thoroughly appreciated the 'witchcraft' of Richardson. Yet neither of these is in the Catalogue, nor are there copies of the *Paysan Parvenu* and the *Histoire de Marianne* of M. de Marivaux, an author with whose merits he was fully acquainted, and by whom, as that acute critic, Mr. George Saintsbury, has more than once pointed out, he was himself in some measure influenced. The absence from his library of fiction generally is indeed one of its notable features. For, with the exception of Jarvis' *Don Quixote* (1749), and Coventry's *Pompey*, the 'Father of the English Novel' (*credite posteri!*) appears to have been contented to limit his examples of what Mr. Andrew Lang has happily styled 'anodyne literature' to the *Harriot Stuart* and *Arabella* of Mrs. Charlotte Lenox,—a friend to whose 'shamefully distressed' condition in the world of letters his last book feelingly refers.

But—though we have but touched the fringes of the subject—there are limits, even in a Bibliographical Journal, to the mere enumeration of

titles. If Fielding had few novels and romances, he was fairly equipped with poets; and, as became the author of *Pasquin* and *Tom Thumb*, he was rich in playwrights. In biography, science, philosophy, theology, he had many standard works, the dates of which frequently suggest that they must have been bought as they were first issued. But his largest and most important sections are in law and classical literature. His assemblage of legal authorities is unusually extensive, and probably far more significant to experienced eyes than it seems to the layman who only recognises here and there names which, like the Salkeld and Ventris of Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World*, and the 'Bractons, Fletas, Cokes,' of *Cadenus and Vanessa*, have casually strayed into the domain of *belles lettres*. About his collection of Greek and Latin classics, however, there is no doubt, at all events as regards variety and range. Whether his editions of Lucian and Aristophanes, of Homer and Æschylus, would have satisfied the 'Doctor Dewlaps' of Dibdin's time, or the wiseacres who in the last century debated the merits of the 'Greek Aldus and the Dutch Frobenius' at Tom Payne's by the Mews Gate, this deponent sayeth not; but they should certainly be allowed to count towards absolving their possessor from the charge of superficial erudition. This, after all, is the conclusion here advanced. Of course, as we know from the admirable 'Tom Folio' of Addison, the mere possession of books may mean no more than the science of title-pages. But when it is found that in his youth Fielding had been a fervent student of the classics; that he remained through life a voracious reader; and that his works everywhere afford confirmation of both these things, it is perhaps not unreasonable

to assume that he made good use of the large collection of Greek and Latin authors which he left at his death, and that he was, in reality, the scholar he has been thought to be. In any case, the evidence for his learning is a hundred times better than most of that which for years has been confidently brought forward for some of the less memorable incidents of his life.

AUSTIN DOBSON.



PEPWELL'S DEVICES (3) AND (4)

THE BOOKSELLERS AT THE SIGN OF THE TRINITY IN ST. PAUL'S CHURCHYARD

PART II.—1518-1539

AFTER an interval of several years about which at present we know little or nothing, the business at the sign of the Trinity entered upon a new stage of activity under another stationer, Henry Pepwell, the last who carried on business at this sign. We have concerning him more definite information than we have about his predecessors, who are known to us only from their books. He was born, as we learn from his will, at Birmingham, but up to the year 1518, when he printed his first work, we know nothing of his life. Between that year and 1523 he printed at least eight books, intended both by their contents and illustrations to appeal to the popular taste, and, if we may judge from their rarity at the present time, in this they were completely successful. The activity of the first press was short lived, for it ceased in 1523. Pepwell's position in the trade, however, must have been higher than his printed productions would lead us to imagine, for in 1525-26 he was appointed Warden of the Company of Stationers, a position which, no doubt, then entailed a considerable amount of work, and perhaps diverted his attention from practical printing. In 1531 he employed Michael Hillenius of Antwerp to print an edition of Eckius' *Enchiridion locorum communium*

adversus Lutheranos for him, which is mentioned by 'John Harrison' (*i.e.* John Bale) on p. 55 of his work, *Yet a course at the Romish Fox* [Zurick, 1543. 8°], in the following wordes: 'No lesse myght harrye pepwell in Paules church yearde have out of Michael Hillenius' howse at Antwerp at one tyme than a whole complete prynte at the holye request of Stokyslaye. In a short space were they dyspached and a newe prynte in hande, soche tyme as he also commaunded Barlowe's dyaloges to be preached of the curates through out all hys dyocese.'

The 'holye request' of Bishop Stokeslaye meant, in all probability, both payment and protection, for it is not likely that an influential stationer like Pepwell, good Catholic though he was, would have engaged in 1531 in the production or importation of controversial books printed at Antwerp without very powerful reasons; especially as in that year religious persecution was at its height, and Fox tells us that 'an Antwerp bookseller [named Christopher], for selling certain new Testaments in English to John Row, bookbinder, was thrown into prison at Westminster and there died.'[1]

In 1534 Pepwell is mentioned in W. de Worde's will: 'To Henry Pepwell, stationer, iv*l.* in printed books.'

In 1539 Pepwell printed two small grammars for the use of St. Paul's School, and on the 11th September of the same year made his will, which was proved on the 8th February 1540, so that he probably died at the beginning of the latter year. In it he describes himself as a citizen and stationer of London, and makes William Bonham the printer

[1] I think there is very little doubt that this refers to Christopher Endoviensis, or Christopher van Ruremonde, who is well known to students of liturgical books as a prolific printer of such works at Antwerp from 1523 to 1531.

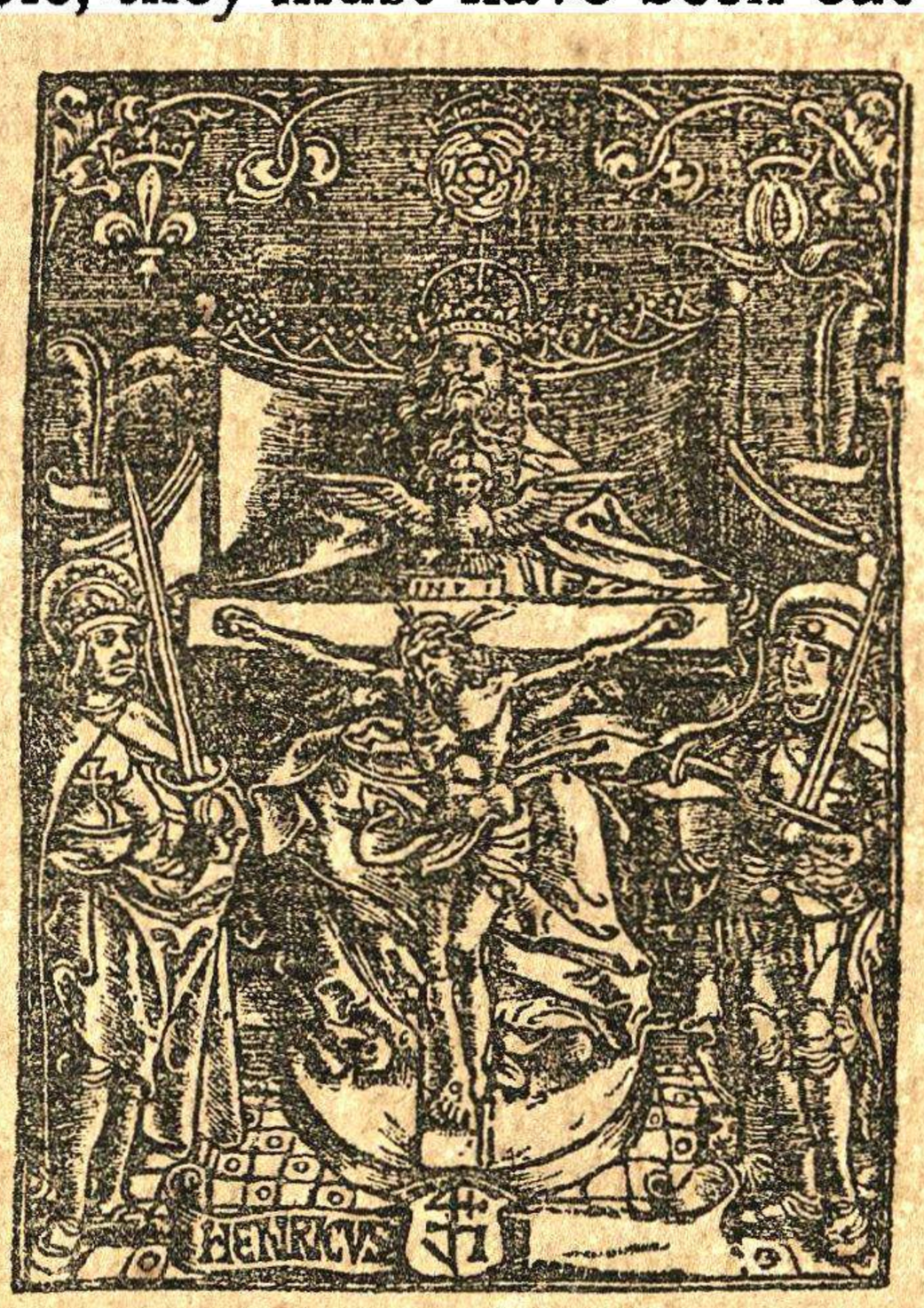
one of the supervisors of his will, his wife, Ursula, being sole executrix. A certain portion of his fortune is left to his children, but curiously enough none of them are mentioned by name, though we may reasonably suppose the Arthur Pepwell who is frequently mentioned in the earliest registers of the Company of Stationers to have been one. This Arthur Pepwell seems to have been anything but a reputable member of the Company, for his name occurs, year by year, amongst the members to be fined for bad behaviour. In 1558 it is 'for sellyng bokes contrary to the ordenances'; in 1559, 'for that he gave unsemelye and unfettyng wordes to the maister, wardyns, and assystentes.' During several years he is fined for 'keeping open his shop on Sundays' for 'stychynge of bokes' and for binding books in 'skabertes.' Later on he seems to have reformed, and, just before we lose sight of him, he had become one of the Company's officials.

Ames tells us that Michael Lobley the printer was at one time servant to Pepwell, but I find no reason for this statement, nor is he mentioned in the will. The only point which could render it probable is that Lobley was engaged in buying books at Antwerp, but being, according to Fox, a strong Protestant, while Pepwell was a Catholic, it is not probable that there were any close business relations between the two.

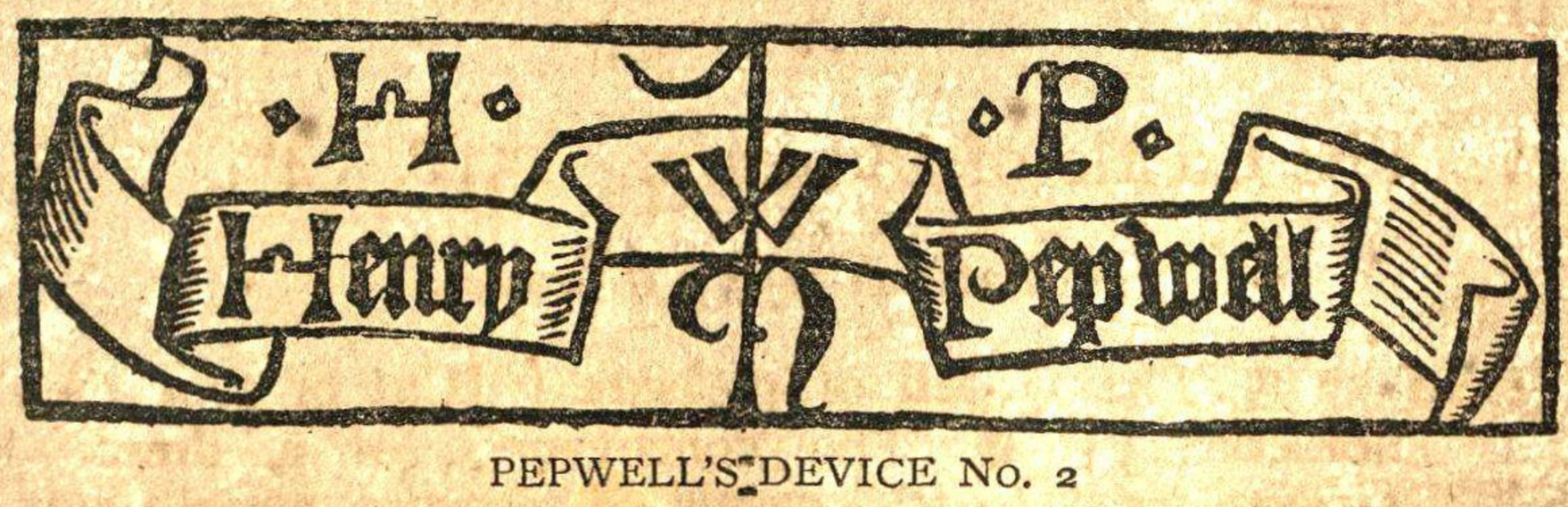
With regard to the types used in them Pepwell's books fall into two distinct classes: those produced between 1518 and 1523, and those produced by or for him between 1531 and 1539.

The eight books in the first group are all printed in the same type, which appears to be new, and was perhaps obtained from Pynson, fresh cast from his matrices. The initial letters—quite plain and rarely

used in the first few books, more ornamental and more frequently used in the later books—I have not been able to trace in any previous hands, so that unless they were obtained from abroad, which is quite possible, they must have been cut for Pepwell.



PEPWELL'S DEVICE No. 1



PEPWELL'S DEVICE No. 2

All these books are in 4to, with signatures, but without headlines, catch-words, or numbers to pages.

The books of the second group are entirely different in appearance, being of a smaller size and printed in Roman type. They strongly resemble the books

printed at Antwerp about that time, and if, as the colophons of two definitely state, they are really the work of Pepwell, it is most probable that he obtained from Antwerp the materials with which they are printed.

The devices used by Pepwell are four in number: (1) The cut of the Trinity used by Jacobi but with his name erased. (2) An oblong block containing a ribbon with the name Henry Pepwell, above which are the initials H. P. with the trade-mark in the centre. (3) A large cut of the Trinity having at the base the name Henry Pepwell, and on the left of the name his mark. (4) A border-piece containing his mark on a shield.

Besides these devices Pepwell used eleven wood-cut illustrations in his books, none of them original in design, but copied from those in other books of the period.

In order to make the history of these stationers complete, I have added in an Appendix a short note on the bindings which they produced, and have reprinted in full Pepwell's will. The following is a complete list of all his books which I have been able to trace:—

1. The Castle of Pleasure. 1518. 4to.

Collation: a-c^{6}; 18 leaves.

Leaf 1^{a} ¶ The castell of pleasure. | [Cut of four men on horseback] | ¶ The conueyaunce of a dreme how Desyre went to y^{e} | castell of pleasure, wherin was the gardyn of affeccyon | inhabyted by Beaute to whome he amerously expressed | his loue, upon the whiche supplycacion rose grete stryfe | dysputacion, & argument betwene Pyte & Dysdayne. | *Colophon* ¶ Here endeth the castell of pleasure Enprynted in pou- | les churchayrde at the sygne of the Trynyte by me Hary | Pepwell in the yere of our lorde M.ccccc.xviij. |

*** There is an edition without date printed by W. de Worde, and it is most probable that Pepwell's edition was copied from it.

The only copy known is in the British Museum [G. 11229]. It was bought by Thorpe at the Caldecott sale in 1833 for £28, 10s.

2. Christiani hominis institutum. 1520. 4to.

Collation not known.

Colophon ¶ Explicit Christiani hominis Institutum | Impressum Londōn. per Henricū Pepwell in | cimiterio diui Pauli sub intersignio sancte Tri- | nitatis cōmorātē. Anno dñi M.ccccc.xx. | [Jacobi's mutilated device] | [Pepwell's ribbon device] | .

*** Of this book only the last leaf is known. This was in the collections of Ames and Herbert, and is now in the Bodleian. [Douce Adds.]

Herbert says of it: 'By the title, *Christiani Hominis Institutum*, one is apt to imagine it to be somewhat like the Institution of a Christian man set forth by the king in 1537. Having only the last leaf I cannot give a particular description of it; only that it seems to have been written wholly in hexameters, at least this leaf is so; also to be a dialogue, but of how many characters does not appear, I find only two, Morbus and Mors; yet the last verse before the speech of Morbus, "Purgabo maculis; virtutum ornabo nitelis," indicates Christ to have been the preceding speaker. When we know the author, we may chance to know more of this piece.'

The book is really a translation into Latin verse by Erasmus of Colet's *Institution of a Christian man*, and it is often found included in the editions of *Catonis Disticha* which Erasmus edited.

Hazlitt mentions an edition printed by W. de Worde, of which a copy is in the collection of Miss Johnson of Spalding. He also adds that the words Morbus and Mors considered by Herbert to be speakers are really 'catch-words.' As a matter of fact they are headings to stanzas, descriptive of the state of the Christian man to which the verses following apply.

3. Exoneratorium Curatorum. [1520.] 4to.

Collation: AB^6^, C^4^; 16 leaves.

Leaf 1^a^. ¶ Exoneratorium Curatorū | *colophon* ¶ Finis Exoneratorium curatorum | ¶ Imprynted at London in Poules chyrchyarde at the | sygne of the Trynyte by Henry Pepwell. | [Pepwell's ribbon device.] On the reverse of the leaf is Jacobi's mutilated device, and Pepwell's ribbon device.

*** On the first page below the title is a small cut of a pelican standing in her nest, feeding her young with blood taken from her breast; to the left of the cut is a portion of a border.

There are at least two editions printed by W. de Worde, both without date, which correspond almost exactly with Pepwell's. Another edition was printed in 1519 by Julian Notary.

4. Modus tenendi curiam Baronum. [1521.] 4to.

Collation: A^6^, BC^4^; 14 leaves.

Leaf 1^a^. ¶ Modus tenend' Cūr Baroñ. | cum visu franam plegii. | [cut of Royal Arms] *colophon*, leaf 14^a^. ¶ Imprynted at London in Poules chyrchyarde at | the sygne of the Trynyte By Henry Pepwell. | [Pepwell's small device] | Leaf 14^b^ Pepwell's large device.

*** The only copy known, formerly in the collections of R. Wilbraham and Earl Spencer,

is now in the John Rylands Library, Manchester. A fragment of two leaves is in the possession of Mr. F. Jenkinson, University Librarian, Cambridge.

5. Christine of Pisa. The Cyte of Ladies. 1521. * 4to.

Collation: Aa-Oo alternate fours and sixes, Pp^{6}. A-Y alternate sixes and fours, Z^{4}; 190 leaves.

Leaf 1^{a}. ¶ Here begynneth the boke of the Cyte of Ladyes, the | whiche boke is deuyded into . iij partes. The fyrst par- | te telleth how and by whom the walle and the cloystre | aboute the Cyte was made. The seconde parte telleth | how and by whom the cyte was buylded within and | peopled. The thyrde parte telleth howe and by whom | the hyghe battylmentes of the towres were parfytely | made, and what noble ladyes were ordeyned to dwell | in ye hyghe palayces and hyghe dongeons. And ye fyrst | chapytre telleth howe and by whom and by what mo- | uynge the sayd cyte was made. | *Colophon* ¶ Here endeth the thyrde and the | last partye of the boke of the Cyte of | Ladyes. ¶ Imprynted at London | in Poules chyrchyarde at the sygne | of the Trynyte by Henry Pepwell. | In ye yere of our lorde. M . ccccc | . xxi. The xxvi. day of October. And | the . xii . yere of the reygne of our soue | rayné lorde Kynge Henry the . viij . | . On the reverse of the last leaf are Pepwell's large and border devices.

*** Hazlitt says that this edition is identical with that by W. de Worde, but from his own description it is clear that the title-pages are different, so that probably there is a difference all through.

Copies known. Brit. Mus. [c. 13. a. 18] [frag. 643 m. 9 (12)]. H. Huth, Esq., King's College, Cambridge [perfect]. Corpus Christi College Oxford [imperfect].

6. The Dietary of Ghostly Healthe. 1521. 4to.

Collation: a^6, b^4, c^6; 16 leaves.

Leaf 1^a. ¶ Here begynneth a deuoute treatyse named the Dyetary of ghostly helthe. *Colophon* ¶ Imprynted at London in Poules chyrchyarde at | the sygne of the Trynyte by Henry Pepwell. The ye- | re of our lorde god . M . ccccc . xxi . The xv. day of | Nouembre. | [Pepwell's device.]

*** This is probably an exact reprint of the edition by Wynkyn de Worde, 20th Nov. 1520, which also consists of sixteen leaves (a^6, b^4, c^6). A copy of Pepwell's edition, but described as without date, was sold at the auction of John Inglis' books in 1826. It is mentioned also in Maunsell's Catalogue of English books.

Copy known. Brit. Mus. [c. 21. c. 30].

7. Richard de S. Victor. Benjamin. 1521. 4to.

Collation: a-k alternate fours and sixes; 50 leaves.

Leaf 1^a. ¶ Here foloweth a veray deuoute treatyse (named | Benyamyn) of the myghtes and vertues of mannes | soule, & of the way to true contemplacyon, compyled | by a noble & famous doctoure a mā . of grete holynes | & deuocyon named Rycharde of saynt Vyctor. | [woodcut] | Leaf 15. ¶ Here foloweth dyuers doctrynes deuoute & fruyt- | full, taken out of the lyfe of that gloryous vyrgyne, & | spouse of our lorde Saynt Katheryn of Seenes. And | fyrst those whiche our lorde taught & shewed to her- | selfe, and syth these whiche she taught and shewed un | to others. | [woodcut] Leaf 20b. ¶ Here begynneth a shorte treatyse of contempla | cyon taught by our lorde Jhesu cryst or taken out | of the boke of Margery Kempe ancresse of Lynne. | Leaf 24. ¶ Here foloweth a deuoute treatyse | compyled by mayster walter | Hylton of the songe of | aungelles. | [woodcut] Leaf 29. ¶ Here after foloweth a deuoute treatyse | called the Epystle of prayer. | [woodcut] Leaf 35. b. ¶ Here foloweth also a veray necessary | Epystle of dyscrecyon in styrynges of | the soule. | [woodcut] Leaf 44. ¶ Here foloweth a deuoute treatyse of | dyscernynge spyrytes veray ne- | cessary for ghoostly lyuers. |

[woodcut] *Colophon* ¶ Imprynted at London in Poules chyrchyarde | at the sygne of the Trynyte by Henry Pepwell. | In the yere of our lorde god. M.ccccc.xxi. the | xvi daye of Nouembre. |

*** Copies known: Trinity College, Cambridge [H. 9. 20]. Brit. Mus.

8. Whitinton (R.). De octo partibus orationis. 1523 [1524]. 4to.

Collation not known.

Colophon ¶ Impressum Londini in edibus Henricum | Pepwell visesimo tertio supra sesquimil- | lesimum nostre salutis anno. Idi- | bus Febrarii. | On the reverse of the leaf are Pepwell's large and ribbon devices with some border pieces.

*** For the commentary a small type is used which does not occur in any other of Pepwell's books.

Of this book only the last leaf is known. Brit. Mus. (Harleian MS. 5974).

9. Eckius (J.). Enchiridion adversus Lutheranos, Antwerp, 1531. 8°.

Collation: A-I^{8}, K^{4}; 76 leaves.

Leaf I^{a} ENCHI | RIDION LOCORVM | cōmuniū aduersus Lutheranos, | Ioanne Eckio autore. | Ephe 6. | In omnibus sumentes scutum fidei, in quo | possitis omnia tela nequissimi | ignea extinguere. | Ab autore iam quarto recognitū & tri- | bus locis auctum & a pluribus | mendis Calcographi | emunctum. | Michael Hillenius excudebat. Anno | M.D.XXXI. Mense Julio | Impensis Henrici Pepwel. Londini sub | intersignio S Trinitatis in Coemi | terio Diui Pauli. | Leaf 75a. ¶ Antuerpiæ apud Michaelem Hille- | nium in Rapó. Anno M. | D.XXXI. mense | IVLIO. | Leaf 76b, The device of Hillenius, a figure of Time.

*** The title-page is surrounded by a border having the mark and initials of Hillenius in the lower portion.

This volume was first noticed by Maittaire, and his entry is copied (incorrectly) by Herbert and Dibdin, who had clearly not seen the volume. Ames speaks of a volume in 8° printed in 1531, but does not give the title, and his information evidently comes from Bagford, who had a copy of the title-page. It is the book spoken of in the 'Yet a course at the Romish Fox,' as printed by Hillenius for Pepwell at the request of Bishop Stokeslaye. Hillenius printed several books, amongst them an Expositio Hymnorum et sequentiarum [c. 1518], which were to be sold in London in Paul's Churchyard, and, though no particular shop or bookseller is mentioned, it is quite possible that they were sold at the Trinity.

Copy known: Westminster Abbey Library. [E. 1. 1132.] A title-page is in the Bagford Collection.

10. Colet (J.). Paules Accidence. [1533?] 8°.

Collation: A-F^8; 48 leaves.

Leaf 1^a ¶ Paules Accidence | ☙ Johannis Coleti Theologi | olim decani diui Pauli, aeditio. | Una cum quibusdam Guil. Lilii | Grammatices rudimentis. | ☞ Guil. Lilii Epigramma | Pocula si linguæ cupias gusta- | re latinæ, | Quale tibi monstret, ecce | Coletus Iter. | Non per caucaseos montes, aut | summa Pyrines | Te ista per Hybleos, seu uia | ducit agros. |

*** The title-page is surrounded by a border. There is, unfortunately, no colophon, so that it is impossible to determine the date or the printer's name. It is, however, included here on account of its very strong typographical resemblance to the grammars following, which have Pepwell's name upon them. Bagford, in one of his various notebooks on printing [Sloane MS. 893], enters: 'Paules

Accidence printed att Antwarpe 1533 for pepwill,' and this may perhaps be the edition here noted.

Copy known: Magdalene College, Cambridge. Pepys Collection, No. 424.

11. Colet (J.). Editio. 1534. 8°.

Collation B-F⁸, G⁴; 44 leaves.

Leaf 1ª ❧ IOANNIS | COLETI THEOLO- | gi olim Decani Diui Pauli, | æditio, una cum quibusdam | G. Lilii Grammatices | Rudimentis | G.LILII EPIGRAMMA | Pocula si linguæ cupias gustare Latinæ, | Quale tibi monstret ecce Coletus iter, | Non per caucaseos montes, aut summa Pyrene | Te ista per Hybleos sed uia ducit agros. | M.D. XXXIIII. |

*** It is curious to note that two other editions of this Book in the British Museum, printed by Martin Caesar, and apparently perfect, begin on signature B. It was no doubt intended that Wolsey's exhortation to his masters at Ipswich should be prefixed, of which there are several editions, consisting of one gathering.

This book, like the last, has no notification of its being printed by or for Pepwell, but is inserted on account of its typographical similarity to the grammars which bear his name.

Copy known: Magdalene College, Cambridge. Pepys Collection, No. 424.

12. Lily (W.). De generibus nominum. 1539. 8°.

Collation: a-c⁸; 24 leaves.

Leaf 1ª ❧ GVILI | ELMI LILII GRAMMA | tici, & poetæ eximii, Paulinæ | scholæ olim moderatoris | De generibus nominum, | ac uerborum præte | ritis & Supinis. | Regulæ pueris apprime utiles. | Opus recognitum & a[illegible]

cum Nominum, ac Verbo | rum interpraetamentis | An. M.D. XXXIX. | *Colophon* ☞ EXCVSVM Londini in Cimiterio diui | pauli, per me Henricum Pepuuel, Anno a partu uirgineo. M.D. XXXIX. |

Copy known: Magdalene College, Cambridge. Pepys Collection, 424.

13. Lily (W.). De constructione octo partium orationis. 1539, 8°.

Collation: AB⁸, C⁴; 20 leaves.

Leaf 1ª ☞ LIBELLVS | de Constructione | Octo partium orationis. | LONDINI diligentia | Henrici Pepuuel, Ad uerum Paulinæ | scholæ exem- | plum. | An M.D. XXXIX. *Colophon* ☙ Explicit Libellus de Constructione Octo par- | tium orationis. Londini Impressus per Henricum | Pepuuel, in cemiterio diui Pauli. Anno a partu | uirgineo M.D. XXXIX. |

*** The title-page is surrounded by a border, which also occurs in the *Paules Accidence* before mentioned. These four grammars are evidently the work of the same printer; and, were it not for the distinct statement in the two last that they were printed in London, would certainly appear to have been produced abroad, probably at Antwerp.

The following seven books mentioned by Ames, Herbert, or Dibdin either do not exist at all, or are wrongly ascribed to Pepwell :—

1. *Scala perfectionis.* 1521.

No edition of this book printed by Pepwell is known, but there are several editions by W. de Worde, J. Notary, and others. In the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, a copy of one of these editions is bound up with the Benjamin of Richard de S. Victor, printed by Pepwell in 1521. Some careless bibliographer has noted the title of the first

book and combined it with the colophon of the last, thus inventing a new edition.

2. *Eckii Epistola ad Henricum VIII., datae est Ingolstadii Baiariae Kal Feb.* 1525.

3. *Eckii Enchiridion locorum communium adversus Lutheranos.* 1525.

These editions are placed under Pepwell through Ames' careless reading of Maittaire, who does not quote them as printed by or for Pepwell, but refers in the next line to an edition of the second printed for Pepwell in 1531. Ames confusing them copied all three, and Herbert and Dibdin copied Ames. I have examined the books, and they bear no reference to any English printer. Herbert suggests that the second was the book imported for Bishop Stokeslaye, but at that time (1525) he was not a Bishop.

4. *Horae in usum Sarum.* 1527.

This edition, in common with many others, has a notification in its imprint that it was to be sold in London, but there is no reason for giving it to Pepwell: it should rather be put under Byrckman.

5. *The Complaint of Mary Magdalen.* No date.

This is perhaps an edition printed by W. de Worde of *The Complainte of the lover of cryst Saint mary Magdaleyn.* It is quite possible that Pepwell may have printed an edition, but no copy is now known.

6. *The foundation of our Ladyes Chappell at Walsingham.* No date.

The only edition of this book which I have seen was printed at London, near the end of the fifteenth

century by R. Pynson. A copy, supposed to be unique, is in the Pepys Collection at Magdalene College, Cambridge.

7. *Biblia Sacra.*

This edition is given on the authority of the sale catalogue of William Bayntun of Gray's Inn. No copy seems to be known, and it is extremely improbable that it ever existed.

APPENDIX I

THE TRINITY BINDINGS

LIKE other stationers of the period, those at the Trinity, no doubt, practised bookbinding in addition to the other branches of their business; though only the productions of one, Henry Jacobi, are at present known to us. If work by either Pelgrim or Pepwell is extant, it does not bear sufficiently distinctive marks to permit of its being assigned to them.

Jacobi's earliest bindings are stamped with two panels, one containing the arms of England crowned, supported by the dragon and greyhound. In the upper corners are the sun and moon, and two shields charged with the cross of St. George and the arms of the city of London, while at the bottom are the initials H. I. divided by the base of the shield. The other panel contains the Tudor rose supported by two angels, who each hold a ribbon containing the following distich—

'Hec rosa virtutis de celo missa sereno
Eternum florens regia sceptra feret.'

In the upper corners are the shields with the arms of St. George and the City of London and the sun and moon, while below the rose are the initials H. I., and between them the mark of Jacobi, in exactly the same form in which it occurs on the title-page of the *Lyndewode*. Of this binding several examples are known, specimens being in Westminster Abbey Library, in St. John's College, Cambridge, and in some private collections. Another panel bearing the arms of England with supporters is found twice repeated on the covers of a MS. Psalter of English work in the Bodleian Library. It is very similar to one of the panels described above, though it is not identical with it. Separating the two blocks is a small square stamp four times repeated, having upon it a gryphon. The use of this stamp by Jacobi is interesting, for it is to all appearances identical with one used by Caxton, and found on the copy of the second edition of the *Liber Festivalis* printed and bound by him, now in the British Museum. There may probably have existed a companion block, bearing the Tudor rose and supporters, but no example is known at present.

Another binding contains on one side a representation of Our Lady of Pity with the legend round it beginning 'Salve mater misericordie,' and ending with the initials H. I. joined by a knot. The other side contains a representation of the Image of Pity. An example in the Bodleian is upon a collection of tracts by Savonarola, including some printed for Jacobi, while a MS. note on the inside of the cover, dated 1510, fixes the date of the binding. Another example is in the library of Pembroke College, Cambridge.

The last binding, like the first two, contains the two panels with the Royal Arms and the Tudor

rose. The blocks, however, are of finer workmanship and of later execution, and it is a doubtful point whether they were cut for Jacobi at all. There is even a doubt whether the initials upon them are H. I. or H. A., though the stroke which gives the I the appearance of an A seems rather to form part of a floral ornament encircling the letter than to be part of the letter itself. The mark too, though the main lines are the same, has several small additions. There are many reasons for believing that these blocks were cut abroad, and if this is so, it may account for the slight variations in the mark and initials which render them different to the earlier examples. This binding is the commonest of all, and many specimens exist both in public and private libraries.

E. GORDON DUFF.

APPENDIX II

WILL OF HENRY PEPWELL

IN the Name of God Amen The xith daye of Septembr the yere of o^{r} Lord god a thousande fyve hundred xxxix^{ti} I Henry Pepwell Citizen and Stacioner of London hole of mynde and pfite of memory lauded be Almighty God make ordeyn and dispose thys my present Testament conteyning my last Will in maner and forme folowing that ys to sey First I bequeth and recomend my Soule unto Almighty God the Father the Sonne and the Holy Goste to our blessed Lady the Vyrgyn Mother of Criste Jhū and to all the celestiall Company of Hevyn and my body to be buryed in the pardone Churche

yarde in London yf it fortune me to deceas in the same Citie orells where it shall please God in Cristen buryall Item I bequeth to the high aulter of the pishe Churche of Saynte Faithe in London for my tythes and oblacons by me necligently forgotten or wholden yf eny suche be in the discharge of my soule xii.d Item I bequeth to the pishe Churche of Brymmyngh where I was borne a prented Masse boke price fyve shillings to pray for my Soule And I give and bequeth to Thomasyn my Mayden srvnte fyve shillings to pray for my soule The residue of all my goodes cattall and debts after my debts paide my funeralls discharged and this my present Testament and last Will pformyd I will they shall be devided into three pts egally portioned of the, whiche thre pts I bequeth two parts to Ursula my wife and the thirde pte to my children egally to be devided amongst them And if eny of my said children deceas before their laufull age of xxi yeres not maryed Then I will that the portions of them so remaynyng being deceassed shall remayn to th'other surviving And of this my pnt Testamente and last Will I make and ordeyn the said Ursula my wyfe my sole Executrice and Supvisours of the same I make and ordeyn my cosyn John Whaverley Goldsmith my brother Thomas Carmarden and my lovyng neighbour William Bonehm And I bequeth to every of theym for their labours to be taken herein vj.s viij.d In wytnesse whereof I have subscrybed my name and setto my seale the daye and yere above wryten Wytnesses to the same the aforeseid John Whaberley Thomas Carmarden and Willm Bonehm p me Henri Pepwell.

Probatum fuit supscriptum testm coram dño apud London viij° die mens Februarij Anno dni Miltimo quingentesimo quadragesimo Juramentº Executricꝭ in hmõi testo nõiatº Ac approbatu et insinuatū Et comissa fuit Admstracio omi et singlorum bonorum &c. dicti defuncti pfat. Executric de bene &c. Ac de pleno et fideli Invn.rio &c. Exhībend necnon de plano et vero compoto reddend, Ad Sancta Dei Evngelia Juratº.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY ALDINES

TO ascertain with exactness and accuracy the dates at which the first editions of the Greek and Latin classics were printed is a matter not only of Bibliographical interest but of importance in literary history. To know with certainty whether at any specific moment the works of a particular author had or had not been printed is often of no little significance in the biography of the scholars of the Renaissance. And the dates of the Greek editiones principes are of much

greater importance than those of the Latin classics. The manuscripts of these latter were comparatively common, and a scholar of the fifteenth century had but little difficulty in obtaining access to them and acquiring familiarity with them, even if they had not been actually printed—as most of them were, in the first thirty years after the art of printing by movable types had been invented.

But in the case of Greek it was different. Greek manuscripts were excessively scarce. The knowledge of the language was confined to very few, even in Italy, while those who before Aldus set up his press in 1494 had any skill in Greek, north of the Alps, might almost be counted on the fingers. Thus the few Greek classics of which the contents were familiar were only known through Latin translations, generally barbarous and always inaccurate. It is to Aldus Manutius the elder more than to any other single person that we owe it that this was changed, and that access to the masterpieces of Greek antiquity was afforded to all who desired it. When he commenced the work of his press in 1494 with the issue, as specimens or trial pieces, of the *Musæus* and the *Galeomyomachia*, only four or five Greek classics at the most had been printed—Homer, Æsop, Isocrates, and probably a volume containing eighteen Idylls of Theocritus.[1] Sixteen other books in Greek had also appeared—grammars, lexicons, psalters, and two editions of the *Batrachomyomachia*. In the twenty-one years which

[1] Although the date of the *Theocritus* is doubtful, some bibliographers placing it as early as 1480, and others as late as 1494, there is strong probability that it appeared before Aldus began to print, and not later than 1493. Three other Greek classics appeared about the same time with the Aldine *Musæus* and *Galeomyomachia*—the *Anthologia* printed at Florence by Laurentius de Alopa in August, 1494, *Callimachus*, and four Plays of Euripides, both without date, place, or printers' name, but probably printed by Alopa not long after the *Anthologia*.

followed, Aldus gave to the world for the first time editions of Aristotle and Plato, of Æschylus, Sophocles, Aristophanes, and Pindar, of Herodotus and Thucydides, Demosthenes and Æschines, Athenæus and Philostratus, besides other Greek writers of but little less importance, and the well-known series of Latin classics in duodecimo, which was such an inestimable boon to students, who had hitherto been confined to cumbrous folios and quartos. As the exact date at which the printing of each book was completed is given in nearly every volume, it might be thought that there would be no room for doubt as to the order and the time of the appearance of the successive works, and in fact all the biographers of Aldus and the historians of his press have agreed on this point, and have treated the chronology of his impressions as self-evident, admitting of no dispute or doubt.

Every student of Mediæval or Renaissance history is, however, aware of the extreme difficulty of ascertaining the exact date at which events recorded as of the first three months of any particular year took place, owing to the different days on which in different countries and localities the year was held to commence.

In England, while the historical year has begun —what time the memory of man runneth not to the contrary—on the 1st of January, the civil, ecclesiastical and legal year, until the end of the thirteenth century, began at Christmas. In the fourteenth century, however, and down to 1753, it began on March 25,[1] and as some historians use the legal, others the historical, year, the date of any event recorded as happening in the first three months is at

[1] By 24 Geo. II. chap. 23, the legal year was ordered to commence 1st January.

first sight a matter of doubt, and often requires much consideration before placing it in its due order. Thus—to take two events often used to illustrate this point—the date of the execution of Charles I. is sometimes given as 30th January 1648, sometimes as 30th January 1649, and the accession of William and Mary sometimes as 13th February 1688, sometimes as 13th February 1689. With events so recent and of such general notoriety no difficulty arises in attributing them to their proper year, but the dates of less notorious and less important events recorded by our earlier annalists, and of the state papers down to the middle of the seventeenth century, are often most difficult to ascertain, and, in the case of the papers preserved in the Record Office, the dates given in the printed Calendars are often erroneous.

In France down to 1563 (or 1567) the confusion was still greater. In some provinces the year began on Christmas Day, in some on the 1st of January, in some on the 25th of March, and in some on Easter Sunday. By an edict of Charles IX., issued in January 1563, but not accepted or registered by the Parliament of Paris until 1567, the 1st of January was fixed as the commencement of the year.

In Italy considerable diversity prevailed. In Rome, Milan, and many other cities the year began at Christmas. At Florence down to 1749 or 1750 the 25th of March was New Year's Day, and at Venice, though the common use was to treat the year as beginning with the 1st of January, the legal year which was used in all public Acts and official documents was reckoned as beginning on the 1st of March down to the fall of the Venetian Republic in 1797.

On no point are the historians of Aldus and his press in more absolute accord than in the assertion that he used the legal Venetian computation in the dates contained in his books, and consequently that those dated in January and February in any year did not in fact appear until a year later, according to our mode of computing the year from the 1st of January, and consequently that a book dated February 1495 was not issued until February 1496, new or common style, and nearly a year after one dated March 1495. On this point Renouard, Firmin-Didot, and Castellani are all in accord, and the two latter assert the fact in the most positive and distinct manner possible, and reassert it over and over again. Renouard, indeed, in his admirable *Annales des Aldes*, assumes rather than asserts the fact, except in one or two instances where he expressly states it. In the case of the first dated book issued by Aldus, the Greek Grammar of Lascaris, he says:—

'Effectivement le Lascaris, de février 1494, est daté de la fin de cette année, février étant alors le douzième et dernier mois; et *l'Alphabetum graecum* qui termine ce volume est de mars 1495, ce qui prouve que la publication et mise en vente n'auront pas eu lieu avant le commencement de l'année 1495.' Again after placing the *Lucretius* of January 1515 as the last issued of those edited or prepared for the press by Aldus, and placing it after those issued in September and November of that year, he concludes the list of the impressions of Aldus' books with the words: 'Dans cette année 1514 le 6 février, style vénitien, et 1515, nouveau style, Alde termina sa laborieuse carrière.'

In general, however, he arranges the volumes for each year, without comment, in the order in

which he conceives them to have appeared, commencing with those issued in March or April, and ending with those dated January and February. Yet he is not absolutely consistent throughout. The volumes of Aristotle he places not in chronological order, but in that indicated by Aldus in the preface to the second and third volumes and in the catalogue of 1498. In one or two other years he seems, without any reason that I can discover, to have placed the volumes without any attempt at either chronological or other systematic arrangement.

But neither the late M. Didot, in his *Alde Manuce et l'Hellénisme à Venise*, nor Signor Castellani, the accomplished Prefect of the Library of San Marco, in his *La Stampa in Venezia dalla sua origine alla morte di Aldo Manuzio seniore* (Venezia, 1889), admits that there is or can be any doubt; they lay down the rule absolutely and repeatedly, without admitting a single exception.

Beginning with the two dates of the first and second parts of the Grammar of Lascaris, 'Anno M.cccc.lxxxxiiii ultimo Februarii' and 'M.cccc.lxxxxv. octavo Martii,' Didot says (p. 64): 'Cette différence, choquante au premier abord, prouve précisément qu'Alde suivait le calendrier vénitien qui commençait l'année le 1er mars, car il n'aurait certes pas mis un an à imprimer une cinquantaine de pages de cette seconde partie, dont le contenu était d'ailleurs annoncé sur le titre de la première. Or le dernier jour de février 1494, *more veneto*, était le dernier jour de l'année vénitienne 1494, et correspond à notre dernier jour de février 1495; par conséquent la seconde partie, datée du 8 mars 1495, a été imprimée non pas un an, comme on pourrait le croire, mais seulement huit jours après.'

He repeats the statement in similar terms

several times, and on every mention of a volume dated January or February in any year generally adds 'more veneto' or some similar expression, and invariably gives the date a year later, followed by 'n. st.' in brackets.[1]

Castellani is equally positive. Having called attention on p. 17 to the fact that, until the fall of the Republic in 1797, the Venetian year began on 1st March, subsequently, when giving the double date of the Grammar of Lascaris, he writes (p. 40): 'Questa differenza di anno *è una prova evidente e decisiva che* Aldo, come generalmente i tipografi in Venezia, seguiva nel datare le sue edizioni il calendario veneziano, secondo il quale febbraio era l'ultimo mese dell'anno, che per ciò principiava col 1mo marzo.' And whenever he has occasion to speak of a book dated in January or February in any year he, like Didot, adds in brackets the following year. Thus, after giving the colophon of the *Suidas*, 'Mense Februario 1514,' he adds '(1515 st. com.)."

In the twenty-one years during which Aldus the elder exercised the profession of a printer he published 130 volumes, including those which were in the press or ready for the press at the time of his death, and which appeared within a few weeks or months afterwards, and from a careful examination

[1] It is perhaps worth noting that Didot invariably commits a strange blunder in translating into French the dates of the volumes dated in the calends of any month. He treats the calends as running forward instead of backwards. Thus the Grammar of Theodore Gaza, which is dated octavo Calendas Januarias (*i.e.* 24th Dec.), he gives as 8 Janvier, and the dedication of the *Astronomici Veteres*, xvi Calendas Novem., as 17th November. If Aldus had been a barbarous writer of the twelfth or the thirteenth century, it would be possible to doubt whether he treated the Calends according to the classical rule, or fancied that they ran forwards from the first of the month, but the humanists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries certainly observed the classical rule. Moreover, for Aldus to have intended by xvi Calendas Novembris, the 16th (or 17th) of November, would be entirely inconsistent with the fact that we find he correctly makes use of the Nones and Ides when occasion requires it.

of each of them, and a repeated perusal of their prefaces, dedications, colophons, and dates, I have come to the conclusion—certain in some cases, probable in others, possible in all with perhaps one exception—that Aldus did not use the Venetian legal calendar for the dates of his impressions, but that for this purpose he in general used the common reckoning,[1] and commenced his year with the 1st of January, and consequently that books dated in January or February in general preceded those dated in the other months of the same year.

Among the books bearing date 1502 are two folios, which are frequently found, as Aldus in one of his prefaces expresses a hope that they would be, bound together—the *Onomasticon* of Julius Pollux, and the treatise *De Urbibus* of Stephanus of Byzantium. Each is dedicated by Aldus to a professor at Brescia, the *Julius Pollux* to Elias Capreolo and the *Stephanus* to Giovanni Taberio. The printing of the text of the *Stephanus* was completed and dated 'Mense Januario MDII,' the *Julius Pollux* 'Mense Aprili MDII.' Accordingly in Renouard's work the *Julius Pollux* commences the list of those printed in 1502, and the *Stephanus* is put some months later, immediately before the books dated 1503; M. Didot, here as elsewhere, states precisely his view of the order of their appearance, saying (p. 238): 'Les deux ouvrages in folio: Julius Pollux (*Vocabularium*) et Stephanus (*De Urbibus*) publiés, le premier en Avril 1502, et le second en Janvier 1502 (1503 n. st.).' Now there is conclusive evidence that the *Stephanus* preceded the *Julius Pollux*. The dedication of the *Stephanus* is dated 'xv Cal. Apriles (*i.e.* 18th March) MDII.' Now if the book itself

[1] I shall indicate the common reckoning by which the year commences with January 1 by N.S. (New Style).

was not printed until January 1503, this dedication would be one of the very rare exceptions to the usual practice of Aldus not to write his dedications or prefaces until the text of the volume was actually printed. In nearly every instance where there is a date to the dedication or preface, and also a date to the printing of the text of the volume, the date of the dedication is subsequent to that of the printing of the text, and that this was so in the case of the *Stephanus* is clear from the words of the dedication itself. If the theory of Renouard and Didot were the correct one, we should have Aldus writing to Taberio on the 18th of March, saying that he was then sending to him a book which was not printed until ten months afterwards. Whereas if the date January 1502 precedes April 1502 the dedication will stand in its natural and ordinary relation to the printing of the text. Moreover, Aldus ends the dedication with the words, 'Expecta brevi Julium Pollucem et Thucydidem et quosdam alios.' Accordingly the *Julius Pollux* was issued in April and *Thucydides* in May 1502.

Turning now to the *Julius Pollux*, we find at the end of the text the date of the impression, 'Mense Aprili MDII.' The dedication, which is dated 'III Id. April. MDII,' is also, as I have said, to a Brescian professor, and in it occurs the following sentence: 'Præterea quia cum *superioribus diebus* Io. Taberio nostro Stephanum de Urbibus dicarimus, quem cum Polluce a compluribus una colligatum iri, ob eam, quæ est inter ipsos, convenientiam, certo scio, volui vos et hoc in libro esse conjunctos, ut animo estis.' Both Renouard and Didot wrote with these two dedications before them. Renouard prints nearly the whole of the one, and Didot of the other. Yet neither noticed how com-

pletely the two demolish their schemes of the chronology of the volumes, and prove that the volume dated January 1502 was printed before that dated April 1502. A further corroboration of the date of the *Stephanus* is the fact that it does not contain an impression of the anchor, while if it did not really appear until January 1503, N.S., it would be the single work of importance printed by Aldus after August 1502, on which that mark is not seen.

But we have an additional, and in itself a conclusive proof that the *Stephanus* was printed before the middle of August 1502 in a letter of Aldus, preserved to us in the celebrated *Clarorum Virorum Epistolæ ad Joannem Reuchlinum*, printed at Tübingen in 1514. The letter, which is in other respects of much interest, is an answer to one from Reuchlin ordering a number of books; it is dated 17th August 1502, and apparently accompanied the despatch of part of the order: 'Of the books which you have ordered I am sending you Julius Pollux, Stephanus De Urbibus, Thucydides, the Etymologicum Magnum, the Christian Poet Prudentius, with which I have printed some Greek pieces.'[1] He then gives a list of the other Greek books which he had printed 'since the Aristotle of which you have already a copy.' Then he informs Reuchlin what Greek books he has in the press, and what Latin books he has already printed and is about to print. A translation of this letter, though with a wrong date (28th October), is actually given by M. Didot, who does not see how completely it disproves his system of chronology, though he

[1] 'Ex libris autem quos petis, mitto Julium Pollucem, Stephanum de Urbibus, Thucydidem, Etymologicum Magnum, Prudentium Christianum poetam cum quo et Græca quædam impressa sunt.'

specifically comments, not very accurately, on the dates of several of the books referred to.

It is thus absolutely certain that in the case of the Stephanus *De Urbibus* Aldus did not use the legal Venetian Calendar, but dated the book according to the common reckoning by which the new year began on January 1. And with this fact before us, I now invite the reader's consideration to the twenty volumes printed by him which are dated in January or February.

The first four of these are the Grammar of Lascaris of which I have already given the dates, that of *Theodore Gaza*, dated 'octavo calendas Januarias MCCCCLXXXXV.'; *Theocritus*, dated 'mense Februario MCCCCXCV.'; and the *Ætna* of Bembo, dated 'mense Februario M.VD.' None of these volumes contains a dated dedication, nor do their contents afford us much assistance in determining the order of their appearance. The Grammar of Lascaris, as we have already seen, is dated 'm.cccclxxxxiiii. ultimo Februarii,' and as the supplement is dated 'M.CCCC.LXXXXV. octavo Martii,' I agree that it is most probable that in the former date Aldus used the Venetian reckoning, and that the printing of the first part (the Grammar) was completed on February 28, 1495, N.S. This is confirmed by the fact that in some copies (one of which is in the Bibliothèque Nationale) the last sheet of the Grammar (before the supplement) has been reprinted with several alterations and corrections and with the date 'ultimo Februarii, MCCCCLXXXXV.' We thus obtain the important fact that Aldus having first dated the book according to the Venetian style, when he reprinted the last sheet altered the date to the common style, from which we can only infer either that he used

the two styles promiscuously, or that having in the first place adopted the Venetian style, subsequently, and on further consideration, he abandoned this for the common style. For the *Theodore Gaza* and the *Theocritus* we cannot obtain the same certainty, but I think in both cases there is a probability that Renouard and Didot are right, and that in these two volumes the Venetian style was used, and that, though dated January and February 1495, they did not appear—the *Theodore Gaza* until after December 25, 1495, and the *Theocritus* until February 1496—otherwise we should have to place them before the *Lascaris*, and to consider them as the earliest dated productions of the press of Aldus. But a comparison of the types used in the volumes, and a collation of the texts of the Golden verses of Pythagoras and the Moralia of Phocyllides, both of which form parts of the *Lascaris* and of the *Theocritus* volume, show as well the superiority of the types used for the latter over those used for the *Lascaris* as the greater accuracy of the printing of the *Pythagoras* and the *Phocyllides*, and thus render it most probable that the *Theocritus* followed rather than preceded the *Lascaris*, and consequently did not appear before February, 1496, N.S. and the *Theodore Gaza* shortly after the 25th December (8 Cal. Jan.) 1495.[1]

[1] That two of the sheets of the *Theocritus* differ in different copies has been noticed as well by critics as by bibliographers, and Reiske in his edition has given a precise account of the differences between the two impressions, of which the second is more correct, though less rare, than the first, but it has hitherto escaped notice that the second page of the first sheet of the *Theodore Gaza* containing the dedication was also reprinted and differs in different copies. The lines are differently arranged, and there is a slight difference in the wording of one of the sentences. Moreover, in the one—the first—the two Greek words in the preface, *μέσα* and *πάθη*, are left blank, and generally filled in by hand, but in the other, though the word *πάθη* is left blank, the word *μέσα* is in a coarse square Greek type not elsewhere used by Aldus. I am fortunate enough to possess a copy of each impression, the first being that formerly of Maccarthy (No. 2139 in the Sale Catalogue of his library) and afterwards of Bishop Samuel Butler.

We now come to the *Aristotle* of 1495-1498, a truly stupendous work which well deserves the admiration it has almost universally met with during the past three centuries, and the panegyric which Renouard gives to it:—

'To obtain an idea,' he says, 'of the difficulties and the boldness of such an enterprise, we must bear in mind the numerous treatises of which the five folio volumes of the works of Aristotle are composed, all at this time unpublished, and of which the different manuscripts were either almost illegible or disfigured by the ignorance of the copyists, often partially mutilated or obliterated and almost all presenting different readings. All this mass of writings was in the hands of an editor who could obtain no assistance from any earlier edition, who found himself at every moment delayed by doubts, for the solution of which he had to rely for the most part on his own sagacity and critical scholarship.'

Of the five volumes of which the editio princeps of Aristotle (and Theophrastus) consists,[1] the dates of the first—the Organon—and the fifth—the Ethics, Economics, and Politics—present no difficulty, being respectively 'calendis Novembris M. CCCC. LXXXXV' and 'M. IID Mense Junio,' but the second, third, and fourth, which Renouard—for once unmindful of his canon as to the Venetian style—has arranged sensibly enough according to the instructions of Aldus himself in his dedication to the Prince of

[1] I prefer, with Renouard, to treat the work as in five volumes, rather than with Didot as in four, as it seems more in consonance with the language and intentions of Aldus himself, though his words in one place are not very clear, and it may be a question whether what is generally called the first and second volumes was not intended to form one volume only. The first catalogue of his publications which Aldus printed—that of 1498—however, treats the work as divided into five volumes. One—the Organon—he places under '*Logica*,' and the four others ('*Primum*, *Secundum*, *Tertium*, and *Quartum*') under '*Philosophica*.'

Carpi, have been thrown into the greatest confusion by M. Didot in his determination to insist on the use by Aldus of the Venetian style for the months of January and February. The second volume comprising the Physics is dated 'Mense Februarii M. IIID.' The third, the History of Animals and other treatises 'Mense Januario M. IIID,' and the fourth—commencing with Theophrastus' Historia Plantarum—'Calendis Junii M.IIID.,' and it is perfectly clear from the dedications of volumes 2 and 3 to the Prince of Carpi that this is the order in which the volumes were intended to appear, and did in fact appear, and accordingly that in dating two of the volumes in January and February 1497 the Venetian style was not used, but that these two preceded the printing of the fourth volume dated June 1497. It is unfortunate that none of the long and interesting dedications are dated, but we may assume that, as usual in the editions of Aldus, the dedication and title were printed shortly after the completion of the text and immediately before the issue of the volumes. Now M. Didot is so wedded to his theory that Aldus invariably used the Venetian style that he arranges the publication of the successive volumes of the Aristotle as follows: vol. 1, Nov. 1495; vol. 4, June 1497; vol. 3, January 1497; 'a la manière vénitienne, qui correspond au Janvier, 1498.' Vol. 2, Feb. 1497. 'That is to say 1498.' 'Ainsi donc, selon l'ordre de la tomaison attribuée aujourd'hui aux œuvres d'Aristote, l'ordre de publication des volumes a été le suivant: tome Ier, tome IV, tome III, tome II, et tome V. C'est pourquoi dans mon analyse je suivrai l'ordre réel d'apparition de ces volumes comme plus important pour l'exposition du développement de l'imprimerie aldine.' Now a very little attention

to the dedications of the successive volumes will show that this arrangement of the volumes is altogether wrong, that the common order in which the various works of Aristotle are arranged is that which was adopted by his first editor, Aldus, and that the volumes dated in January and February 1497 belong in fact to that year (N.S.) and precede the volume dated in June 1497. In the dedication of vol. 2 Aldus writes: 'In a short time I hope you will have in your hands almost all the works of Aristotle and Theophrastus printed with my types. Now I have completed the first. . . . Very soon I shall publish the other works of Aristotle and Theophrastus, and dedicate them to you.' In the dedication to vol. 3, he is most precise as to the order in which he has arranged and intends to issue the volumes:—

'Quare vero hos Aristotelis in philosophia libros hoc ordine curarimus imprimendos, ut præposuerimus physica cum cæteris in eodem volumine; hos dein libros de Animalibus; hinc de plantis Theophrasti libros, atque Aristotelis et problemata *καὶ τὰ μετὰ τὰ φυσικά*. . . . Libellos præterea Theophrasti, necnon Aristotelis quosdam, qualescunque habere potuimus, dedimus.'

In the dedication to the fourth volume these words occur: 'hos *etiam* de philosophia libros in tuo nomine publicare constitui.' These passages make the order in which the volumes were issued perfectly clear, and show that vol. 2 and vol. 3 appeared before vol. 4, and not seven or eight months afterwards, and in his Catalogue of 1498 Aldus confirms this order.

It will be noticed that the date of the completion of the printing of the text of vol. 3 preceded by a month that of vol. 2, but its appearance was delayed

by the addendum of 16 pages comprising additional fragments of the History of Animals which had come to the knowledge of Aldus after the volume was printed, and it is clear from the dedication that it was not actually issued until after vol. 2. It is probable that the two volumes appeared about the same time, in or shortly after Feb. 1497 N.S. The publication of the fifth volume completing the book was delayed until June 1498, owing to the desire of Aldus to include in it all the works of Aristotle, of which translations had been given by Leonard Aretin. He had sent to Rome, to Florence, to Milan, to Greece, and even to Britain, in the hope of obtaining manuscripts of the Rhetoric and the Poetics, but in vain. The work had to be published without them, and they were not printed (in the original Greek) until 1508, when they formed part of the Collection known as the *Rhetores Græci*.[1]

In the remaining Aldine Incunabula I have found nothing bearing on the question under consideration. Only two are dated in January or February, the *Ætna* of Bembo, dated 'Mense Februario anno M.VD,' and the *Institutiones Græcæ Grammaticæ* of Urbanus Bolzanius, 'M IIID Mense Ianuario.'

With 1501 we come to two works of which the order and dates of publication have been a terrible puzzle to bibliographers, and to the biographers of

[1] It has escaped the notice of bibliographers and editors of Aristotle that in the editio princeps one line in vol. 3 has been accidentally omitted. It is the last line of p. 100*b*, or the first of 101*a*. It would seem that after the volume was completed and a certain number of copies issued, the omission was discovered and the line printed on a slip of paper, and pasted into such of the volumes as remained in stock. It is so in my own copy, the types and paper being precisely similar to those used in the volume, but it is not to be found in two of the three copies in the British Museum, though in one of them it is clear the slip has been formerly pasted in though it has now disappeared.

Aldus—the *Poetæ Christiani* and the *Philostratus*. To the *Poetæ Christiani*, which Renouard justly describes as 'Collection infiniment rare et précieuse,' and of which he says that the few copies that exist are almost all imperfect, he has devoted an elaborate and interesting notice. He has corrected many errors of his predecessors, and especially has established the fact that there only exists one edition of the *Prudentius* of Aldus, namely, that which bears the date of 1501. I have noticed only one error in this description, namely, the statement that in the different parts of this Collection the date 1502 is found in several places. The date 1502 is certainly found only once, namely, at the end of the dedication of the second volume (*Sedulius* and others). The four volumes (including the *Nonnus*) of the *Poetæ Christiani* are not only of great rarity but of great literary interest, as being the editiones principes of several of the works comprised in the Collection (including the first five chapters and the greater part of the sixth of the Gospel of St. John in Greek), while, besides other points of interest to the bibliographer, the arrangement of the various pieces, the order in which they were printed, the dates at which they appeared, the intercalated pages, and the very singular series of signatures, commencing in the first volume with ff, raise a number of questions of considerable interest. Each of the first two volumes is dedicated to Daniel Clario, the dedication of the first being undated, but that of the second bearing date 'Mense Junio MDII.' The only other dates are the following. On the recto of the last page of the *Prudentius*, 'Mense Januario MDI'; in the second volume, on the recto of the last page of the Latin poems just half way through the volume, 'MDI

Mense Januario'; in the third volume, the *Nazianzen*, the only date is that at the end of the Latin translation, 'Mense Junio MDIIII'; while the *Nonnus* is entirely undated.

Now the order in which the several portions of this Collection were printed by Aldus is certainly not the same with that of their publication, but can, I think, be ascertained with tolerable certainty by a dissection of the volumes, and a careful study of their dedications, prefatory matter, errata, colophons, and signatures, after the 'natural history' method. And this order will throw much light upon the dates. It would seem that Aldus originally contemplated only an edition of the Latin Christian poets, that he first printed Sedulius and Juvencus, that these were followed by Arator and the two poems of Prudentius,—*Psychomachie* and *Paschale*,—these being probably the only poems of Prudentius of which Aldus then possessed a manuscript. These were followed by Prosper. By this time he had obtained from Britain (probably from Linacre or Grocyn) a manuscript of the whole of Prudentius (he seems to have been unacquainted with the Deventer editio princeps), and then, becoming for the first time impressed with the great merits of Prudentius, and forming the opinion, which was generally held for the following three centuries, though not assented to by recent scholars, that he was superior both as a poet and as a writer of Latin to Sedulius and Juvencus, he decided that the complete Prudentius should form the first volume of the Collection, and accordingly proceeded to print the remainder, adding the *Centones* and the short poems by different authors which follow. The printing of this portion of what now forms the first volume, and of the first part of the second

volume, was finished, 'Mense Januario M.DI,' as stated in the volumes themselves. Then followed (though why these should form part of the collection of Christian poets it is difficult to say) the prose life of St. Martin, by Sulpicius Severus, and a Latin translation by Leonardo Giustiniani of the life of St. Nicholas, composed in Greek by Simeon Metaphrastes. In the meantime, with a view of extending the educational usefulness of the work, Aldus had decided that the Greek Christian poets should form part of the collection, and should be accompanied by Latin translations. He began with St. John Damascenus, and the hymns of Cosmas and Epiphanius, which he forthwith translated into Latin and printed. These were followed by the Greek texts of the Homero-centra, Gregory Nazianzen and Nonnus. So soon as he had completed and printed the translation of St. John Damascenus and the hymns of Cosmas and others, which would be shortly before June 1502, he issued the first volume comprising Prudentius, Prosper, St. John Damascenus, and the minor poems, and this was followed shortly afterwards by the second volume containing Sedulius, Juvencus, the miscellaneous poems, the prose lives of St. Martin and St. Nicholas, and the Homero-centra in Greek and Latin with a tract on the Annunciation intercalated. It was not until 1504 that he found leisure to complete the translation of Gregory Nazianzen, and in, or soon after, June of that year, he issued the third volume containing the Greek and Latin with the chapters of the Gospel of St. John intercalated. He tells us at the end of the volume that 3047 verses of Nonnus in Greek had been already printed for three years past, but that he had not yet been able, on account of his other occupations, to

translate them into Latin. This translation, as the reader knows, he never accomplished. In fact, the Nonnus was never published; the greater portion of the impression was no doubt destroyed or lost, and it is probable that the few copies which now exist were merely such as Aldus gave as presents to his friends.

In the dedication of the second volume (the *Sedulius*) to Daniel Clario, dated 'Mense Junio MDII,' Aldus begins by saying that he dedicates to him 'the Christian poets printed in our workshops a year since' (Christianos poetas jam annum in thermis nostris excusos) but which he had been prevented until then from issuing. Now the printing of the first half of the second volume being finished in January, the second half would probably be some months later, as the Greek text of the Homero-centra, and the tract on the Annunciation, had not only to be printed but translated, so that it is improbable that it would be completed much before June, and therefore, if we take the date 'Mense Januario MDI' to be 1501, N.S., this harmonises with the statement in the dedication, but if it is to be taken as 'more veneto,' *i.e.* 1502, N.S., we have Aldus in June of that year writing that the volume of which only the first half was finished in the January preceding, had been printed a year since. Further, at the end of the translation of the Nazianzen, dated June 1504, he tells us that Nonnus had been printed for three years past, and it certainly seems clear that Nonnus with the text of the Nazianzen was printed about the same time with the Homero-centra and John Damascenus. Moreover, in the petition of Aldus to the Senate of Venice upon which a Privilege was granted to him on the 23rd March 1501, and which would therefore be

dated shortly before that day, he states that he is then printing Sedulius and others, 'Et perchè al presente, stampa *Sedulio, Juvenco, Aratore, Prudentio*, poeti Latini et antiqui, et similiter *in greco* in versi *Nonno, San Gregorio Nazanzeno* et *San Joanne Damasceno*,'[1] which perfectly agrees with the date 1501, N.S., but would be inconsistent with 1502, N.S.

The three dates of the *Philostratus*, March 1501, February 1502, and May 1504, are at first sight little less puzzling than those of the *Poetæ Christiani* and have given rise to numerous mistakes among bibliographers, but the dedication to Zenobio (May, 1504) explains the matter. After printing the Greek text (of the life of Apollonius) which was finished in March 1501, Aldus became disgusted with the book, which he found quite different from his anticipations, 'Nihil enim unquam memini me legere deterius lectuque minus dignum.' However, he proceeded—though slowly—with the printing of the Latin translation of Alemano Rinuccino, and then with a Latin translation made by Zenobio for this edition, of the tract of Eusebius against Hierocles, the original text of which he had appended to the *Philostratus* in order that it might be an antidote to the poison contained in the life of Apollonius. This was completed 'Mense Februario MDII.' But it was not until May 1504 that he could be induced to publish the work. I can find no evidence as to whether the date February 1502 in this and the Latin of the same year is 'more veneto' or N.S.

The only other volume which bears date in January or February 1501 is the Latin Grammar of Aldus, with the same supplemental matter as he

[1] Printed in Baschet's *Aldo Manuzio, Lettres et Documents*, p. 7.

had added to the Grammar of Lascaris, and with the eight pages of the well-known *Introductio perbrevis ad Hebraicam Linguam*, which appears here for the first time. At the end of the Grammar proper is the following date: 'Ven. Mense Febr. DI,' but the preface which occupies part of the first, the second, and part of the third pages, and is addressed 'Literarii Ludi Magistris,' is dated 'Mense Junio MCI' (*sic*). It does not seem, like most of the dedications of Aldus, to have been printed after the body of the volume, but to have formed part of the printing of the first sheet. If we had nothing but the volume itself to guide us we could come to no conclusion as to whether the date 'Febr. DI' was 1501 Venetian style or common style; it would depend upon whether 'MCI' is a misprint for 'MD' or for 'MDI'; but we are here fortunate in having external evidence which shows us that the book had appeared before July 1501, and consequently that the date at the end is common style. In a letter to Conrad Celtis, dated 'Nonis Julii 1501,' printed originally in *Centuria Epistolarum Philologicarum e Bibliotheca M. Goldasti* (Lipsiæ, 1674), and reprinted by Renouard, Aldus, after mentioning some books not yet printed, writes that he sends as a gift to his correspondent two copies of each of the following: Horace, Virgil, and 'the Latin Grammar which I have composed.'

Coming to the year 1502, we find in four volumes the date January or February. I have already shown that the Stephanus *De Urbibus* appeared in 1502 N.S. The *Catullus*, 'Mense Januario MDII,' is no less certainly N.S., for it is one of the Latin books which, in the letter to Reuchlin of 18th August 1502, Aldus mentions as already printed.

I now come to the single volume in which Aldus seems to have used the Venetian reckoning for one at least of its dates. It is the third volume of the edition of Ovid, and contains the *Fasti*, the *Tristia*, and the *De Ponto*. The first volume, containing the *Metamorphoses* and the preliminary matter, is dated at the end 'Mense Octobri M.DII'; the dedication to Marino Sannuto is undated, but is followed by a Privilege from the Doge of Venice. dated 14th November 1502. The signatures in this volume are, for the preliminary matter, a to h, for the body of the volume a to z, followed by A, B, C. The second volume containing the Epistles and Elegies is dated at the end 'Mense Decembri MDII,' and the signatures run a a to z z, and then A A, B B, and C C. It is therefore clear that these two volumes appeared consecutively in the end of 1502. The third volume contains at the end of the *Fasti* 'Mense Januario MDII,' at the end of the *De Ponto* 'Mense Febr. MDIII'; the signatures begin with a a a going on to *z z z*, then A A A to C C C. There can be little hesitation in concluding that this volume appeared after the first two, and consequently that the first date, 'Mense Januario MDII,' must be 'more veneto,' *i.e.* 1503 N.S.[1] Inconsistent as it may seem to date the first half of the book according to the Venetian style, and the second half according to the common style, I think the probability is that such is the case, and that 'Mense Febr. MDIII' is common style and not Venetian, otherwise there would be an interval of upwards of a year between the two parts of the same volume, and, although this is by no means an impossibility, it would be unusual for so long an interval to elapse without some reference in the

[1] It is no doubt possible that MDII is a misprint for MDIII.

dedication or preface to the cause of the delay, and with the signatures running on consecutively through the earlier and the later portions. Here the last signature in the *Fasti* is l l l, on page 5 of which is the date, then follows a blank leaf, then the *Tristia* beginning with m m m.

The second catalogue of Aldus is dated 22nd June 1503, and contains 'Ovidius tribus voluminibus,' but we cannot infer from this that the work had been completed and issued before the date of the catalogue, since it contains several books which in June 1503 were certainly only in the press, and of which the printing was not finished until the end of that year. The same is the case in the other catalogues, and they do not therefore afford any certain information as to the date of the completion of any volume, as it is clear that each catalogue included all the books which Aldus had at the time in the press.

In 1503, at the end of the text of the Origen, we find the date 'Mense Februario MDIII.' The dedication to Cardinal Egidius of Viterbo is dated April 1503, and as this, with the rest of the prefatory matter, was clearly printed and probably written after the printing of the text of the volume, we have here strong internal evidence that the date at the end is common style and not Venetian. The only other volume of February 1503 is the *Euripides*, the dedication of which is not dated, and the book itself affords no evidence whether the date is 1503 or 1504 N.S.

I now come to a volume in which, at first sight, Aldus would seem to have used the Venetian and not the common style. 'Mense Octobri MDIII' appears at the end of the Xenophon of that year as the date of the completion of the printing. The

dedication, which is in Greek and fills the verso of the first leaf, is addressed to Guido Duke of Urbino, and is dated at the end *Ἀνθεστηριῶνος τετάρτη καὶ δέκα α.φ.γ. i.e.* February 14, 1503. Either then, contrary to his usual practice, Aldus wrote this dedication before any part of the volume was printed, or the date given in Greek must be taken to be 'more veneto,' and in reality 1504 N.S. Now, in each of the other volumes which have dedications dated subsequently to the printing of the text, there is clear internal evidence that these dedications formed no part of the volume as originally printed, but were added afterwards (as in the case in the *Origen*). In some instances, they formed part of the general prefatory matter with an independent set of signatures, in others (as in the case of the Stephanus *De Urbibus*, and the *Onomasticon* of Julius Pollux), though forming with the title the first two pages of the first sheet, yet the difference of type and arrangement of the page shows an extreme improbability that they were printed at the same time with the rest of the first sheet, and raises a strong presumption that the first two pages were left blank until the volume was printed, and then that upon these two blank pages the title and dedication were impressed. But in the Xenophon there is no such appearance. Whatever may be the case with the title, the type and arrangement of the dedication is precisely similar to that of the pages which follow. It occupies an entire page, is in the same type and presents every appearance of having formed part of the original typographical arrangement of the first sheet, of which it seems clearly to form a part. No one comparing this dedication with the others to which I have referred, and with the numerous dedications in the other volumes of the Aldine

series, even though he may have no practical knowledge of the mode of printing in the sixteenth century, will have any difficulty in seeing the distinction to which I have referred, or in coming to the conclusion that there is internal evidence from the volume itself that the dedication of the *Xenophon* was printed before the remainder of the volume, as part of the first printed sheet; consequently the probability is that the date at the end is new style.

I now pass over a period of nine years, during which no volume appeared dated in January or February, and arrive at the *Pindar* of 1513, one of the most important books for the question which we are considering. The *Pindar* is dated at the end 'Mense Januario MDXIII,' the dedication to Navagero is undated, but it is clear from the signatures and arrangement that both the dedication and the other prefatory matter were printed after the body of the volume. Towards the end of the dedication, Aldus informs Navagero that he had then in the press the collection known as the *Rhetorum Orationes*, and that this would be followed by the Works of Plato. Now the *Orationes* appeared in May 1513, and the Plato in September of the same year, but if, in the date of the *Pindar*, Aldus used the Venetian reckoning, when the book with this dedication was published, both the *Orationes* and the *Plato* had been issued some months. M. Didot has noticed this difficulty and suggests, by way of explanation, that the dedication must have been written some months before the book was printed. But it is easy to show that this was not the case. At the beginning of the dedication Aldus writes: 'Sunt *jam quatuor anni* cum statui duram hanc provinciam nostram intermittere.' It was in 1509, in the month of March, or April at the latest, that Aldus discontinued the work of his press, com-

pelled to do so by the war of the League of Cambray. The last book that he printed in that year is dated in the month of April. But he must have decided to close his press and to undertake no new work some time earlier, and this would be about four years before the date of the dedication of the *Pindar*, if we are to take the date January 1513 as common or new style.

The Commentaries of Alexander of Aphrodisias upon the Topics of Aristotle afford no less strong corroboration of my argument than the *Pindar*. The volume is dated at the end 'Mense Septembri MDXIII.' It is preceded by a long preface addressed to the Prince of Carpi, dated 'xv Febr. MDXIV,' in which Aldus first explains the cause of the delay in publishing a volume which had been printed last year (superiore anno), and states at the end that he is about to print Strabo, Athenæus, Pausanias, Xenophon, and some others. Of these volumes the *Athenæus* appeared in the month of August 1514, but if we are to take the date of the preface, February 15, 1514, to be 'more veneto,' and to be 1515, N.S., we should have the same absurdity as in the *Pindar*, namely, that Aldus, writing after the *Athenæus* had appeared, speaks of it as one of the books about to be printed. But there is still stronger evidence that, in this book at least, Aldus used the common style. On the 15th of February 1515 he had been dead nine days. His death occurred, as I have already noticed, on the 6th of February 1515, N.S. Even M. Didot is puzzled by this fact, and finds it difficult to explain. He writes:—

'Cette épître est datée du 15 février 1514, ce qui selon le style vénitien correspondrait au 15 février 1515. Or une grande difficulté se présente

au sujet de cette date. Le testament d'Alde est du 16 janvier 1514, soit 1515, et sa mort est marquée au 6 février suivant, d'ou il résulte que l'epître d'Alde datée du 15 février 1514, serait postérieure de neuf jours à la mort de son auteur, ce qui n'a pas besoin d'etre réfuté . . . Il en faut conclure que la date de l'épître de l'édition d'Aphrodisias est erronée et qu'il faut lire 1513 et non 1514, le dernier chiffre du millésime MDXIIII ayant pu être ajouté par erreur, à moins d'admettre que cette date a été mise non pas par Alde, mais après sa mort, au moment de la publication du volume. D'ailleurs, de toute manière, cette question est difficile à résoudre.'

Signor Castellani has also noticed this difficulty and is equally puzzled, but offers no solution. It is certainly strange that the natural explanation occurred to neither, namely, that Aldus used the common reckoning and not the Venetian.

Passing over the Poems of the two Strozzi, dated February 1513, and the *Suidas*, February 1514, I come to the edition of Lucretius, which was certainly prepared by Aldus for the press, and the date of the completion of the printing of which, except the preface and other prefatory matter, 'Mense Januario MDXV,' is stated at the end. This would be shortly before the death of Aldus if we are to take the date as the common reckoning, but both Didot and Renouard place it a year later, eleven months after the death of Aldus. It is preceded by a preface addressed to the Prince of Carpi, undated, but containing internal evidence that it was written after the volume was printed and just before it was issued. '*En igitur tibi Lucretius*' and '*quod autem longe correctior emittitur nunc Lucretius ex ædibus nostris*,' are passages surely

inconsistent with this preface or dedication being written nearly a year before the printing of the volume to which they refer.

With the death of Aldus the elder I end this paper. The books printed by his successors are generally of less interest, whether literary or bibliographical, than those which issued from his own press, and I have not given to the dates which appear in them the same serious and detailed consideration; but wherever I have come across any dated in January or February, I have found nothing to interfere with the opinion that Andreas de Asola, Paulus Manutius, and Aldus the younger followed the course adopted by the founder of the press, and continued to use the common date, and not the Venetian reckoning for the beginning of the year. The results at which I have arrived, and which, I think, are conclusively proved, are these:—That in the first instance, when he began to print, Aldus was in doubt whether to use the Venetian or the common reckoning; that for the first three or four books printed by him in the months of January and February he probably used the Venetian reckoning, changing it, in the one case when he reprinted a sheet of the book, for the common style; that in a large number of the volumes printed subsequently by him, and bearing the dates of January or February, he certainly used the common and not the Venetian reckoning; that in only one volume, the third of the Ovid, is there any evidence of the Venetian style being used, and that we may therefore conclude that, after the years 1495 and 1496, he in general used the common reckoning, by which the year began on the 1st of January, and consequently, that several of the most important Greek editiones principes were printed a

year before the date to which, following the leading authorities for the Aldine press, it has hitherto been customary to attribute them.

It must not be supposed that in this paper I have in any way exhausted the subject of the Chronology of the Early Aldine impressions, or attempted to solve the numerous problems, many of them of great interest, to which the volumes give rise. Although more has been written upon the three Aldi and the volumes that issued from their presses than upon any other printers, and great as is the literary as well as bibliographical merit of several of the books on the subject, yet much remains to be done before we have an adequate and exhaustive work dealing with the Aldine impressions from the different points of view of the scholar, the biographer, the literary historian, and the bibliographer.

RICHARD C. CHRISTIE.

EARLY REPRESENTATIONS OF THE PRINTING-PRESS

WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO THAT BY STRADANUS

THE illustration before us is from an extremely rare engraving of an early printing office. It appears to have escaped the notice of all bibliographers and collectors interested in printing, and was unknown even to such recent investigators as Blades, Bigmore, and De Vinne. At present only two copies are known to be accessible in English public libraries, but it is satisfactory that they are to be found in the two institutions where they would most naturally be looked for, the Printed Book Department of the British Museum and the Bodleian. The Museum copy has no special history: the one in the Bodleian belonged to that gossipy antiquary, Thomas Hearne, and is now among his Diaries. Bagford also possessed one copy, but testifies to its rare occurrence. Once and once only has it come to the surface—in the *Penny Magazine* for October 1833 (No. 107, p. 465), where it is roughly engraved and accompanied by letterpress of a superficial kind. Hearne wrote a long account of it, and from his close connection with the Oxford University printing-press in the Sheldonian Theatre, where his well-known editions were printed from 1703 till 1735, it was hoped that he might throw considerable light on printing matters both of the time of the engraving and of his own period. But

on examination the description was found to be too diffuse and superficial to deserve reproduction: it will be sufficient, therefore, to give a few specimens of his style in an Appendix to the present paper. It will be observed that he preserves a personal characteristic of the great scholar Salmasius, but unfortunately the same passage also shows the erratic nature of some of Hearne's judgments.

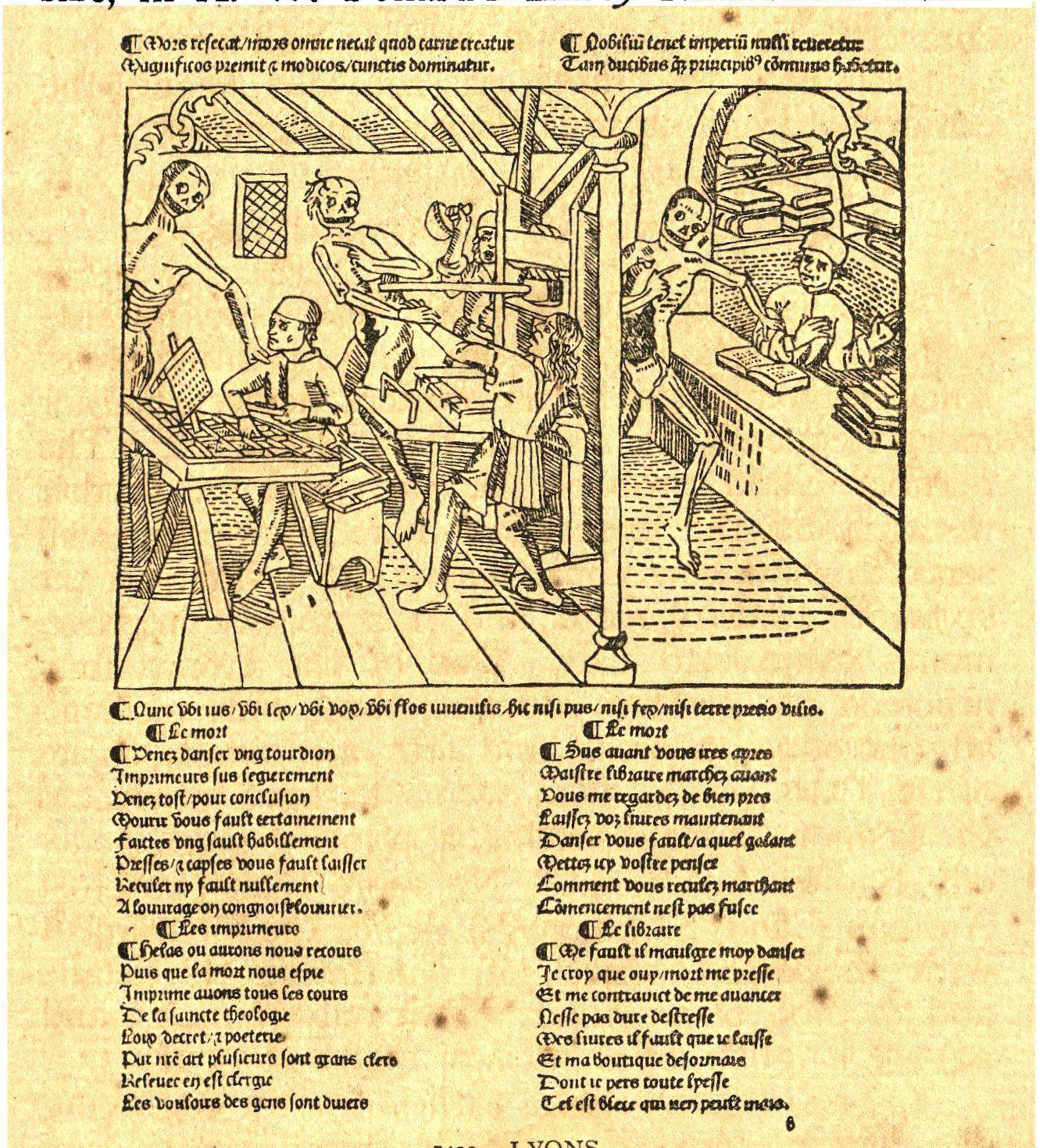
I. Engravings of Printing-Presses

The following is perhaps the first essay towards a list of engravings of an early printing-press. They are found chiefly as printers' devices, and far more frequently in France than elsewhere.[1] The number could probably be increased by further research, but the twenty-four here enumerated will serve to show how conservative the printers of the sixteenth century were, and how slowly improvements came into use. Out of the twenty-four, nineteen are printers' devices, three only incidentally introduce a press, and four are simply copies of the Paris printer who seems to have introduced the fashion of representing a printing-press, Jodocus Badius Ascensius. No more than two (Jost Amman's and Stradanus's) depict the instrument with the direct object of illustrating its details and method of working. Two only (Nos. 13 and 22) are English, of about A.D. 1548 and 1578.

1. 1499 (1500). The earliest known engraving of a printing-press is one to be found in an edition of the *Dance of Death* (*La grāt danse macabre*), printed at Lyons on Feb. 18, '1499,' of which the only copy at present known is in the Huth Library

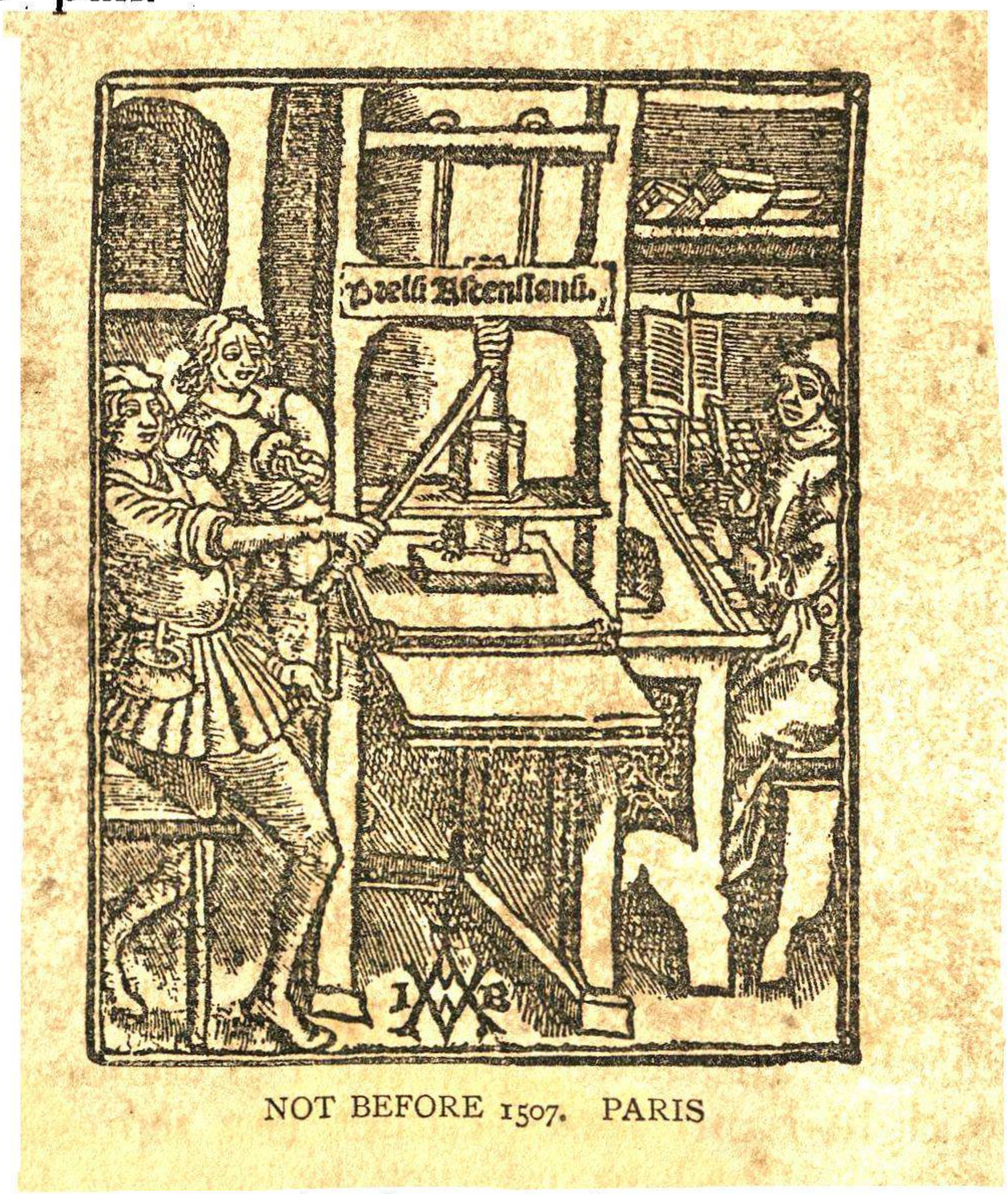
[1] For instance in Van Havre's *Marques typographiques des imprimeurs et libraires anversois* (Antwerp, 1883) there is only one, and that as late as 1694.

(*The Huth Library, a Catalogue* (1880), vol. 2, p. 387). It has been reproduced in H. Noel Humphreys' *Masterpieces of the early printers and engravers* (Lond. 1870), plate 20, and, reduced in size, in A. W. Pollard's *Early Illustrated Books*


Mors resecat/mors omnic metal quod carne creatur
Magnificos premit & modicos/cunctis dominatur.
Nobilium tenet imperium nulli reuelatur
Tam ducibus qz principib⁹ cōmunis habetur.
Nunc vbi ius/vbi lex/vbi vox/vbi flos iuuenilis/hic nisi pus/nisi fex/nisi terre pręcio vilis.
Le mort
Venez danser vng tourdion
Imprimeurs sus legierement
Venez tost/pour conclusion
Mourir vous fault certainement
Faictes vng sault habillement
Pressés/& capses vous fault laisser
Reculer ny fault nullement
A louurage on congnoist louurier.
Les imprimeurs
Helas ou aurons nous recours
Puis que la mort nous espie
Imprime auons tous les cours
De la saincte theologie
Loix decret/& poeterie
Par nrē art plusieurs sont grans clers
Releuez en est clergie
Les vouloirs des gens sont diuers
Le mort
Sus auant vous tres apres
Maistre libraire marchez auant
Vous me regardez de bien pres
Laissez voz liures maintenant
Danser vous fault/a quel galant
Mettez icy vostre penser
Comment vous reculez marchant
Cōmencement nest pas fusee
Le libraire
Me fault il maulgre moy danser
Ie croy que ouy/mort me presse
Et me contraict de me auancer
Nest pas dure destresse
Mes liures il fault que ie laisse
Et ma boutique desormais
Dont ie pers toute lyesse
Tel est bleca qui nen peult mais.
1499. LYONS
6

(Lond. 1893), p. 164: the plate of which latter has been kindly lent to illustrate the present paper. Death is represented as seizing the printer at his press and the compositor sitting at his work, while

an affrighted assistant brandishes an ink-ball as if to strike the skeleton. The printer's body, unfortunately, hides the platen and bed, but the general construction of the press, with its massive frame, supports reaching to the ceiling, coarse wooden screw and straight bar, and also the composing-stick, case for type and ink-balls, are well shown. It may be mentioned that in all the engravings described, the divisions of the cases are equal in size, and there is as yet no sign of any mechanism to help the platen to spring up again after a 'pull.'



NOT BEFORE 1507. PARIS

2. In 1507 begin the printing-presses engraved as devices by Jodocus Badius Ascensius at Paris. All three (see Nos. 4, 7) represent a printer in the

act of taking an impression, standing on the right,[1] and behind him an assistant with ink-balls, while on the left is a compositor at work. In the first we see a straight bar, apparently detachable, and a platen of very small size compared with the bed on which it comes down. The compositor's copy and composing-stick are well exhibited, but by a curious error the composing-stick is in the right hand. There is also a handle and apparatus for running the form in and out. The title 'Prelū Ascensianū' in one line is on the press, and a monogram between 'I' and 'B' at foot.

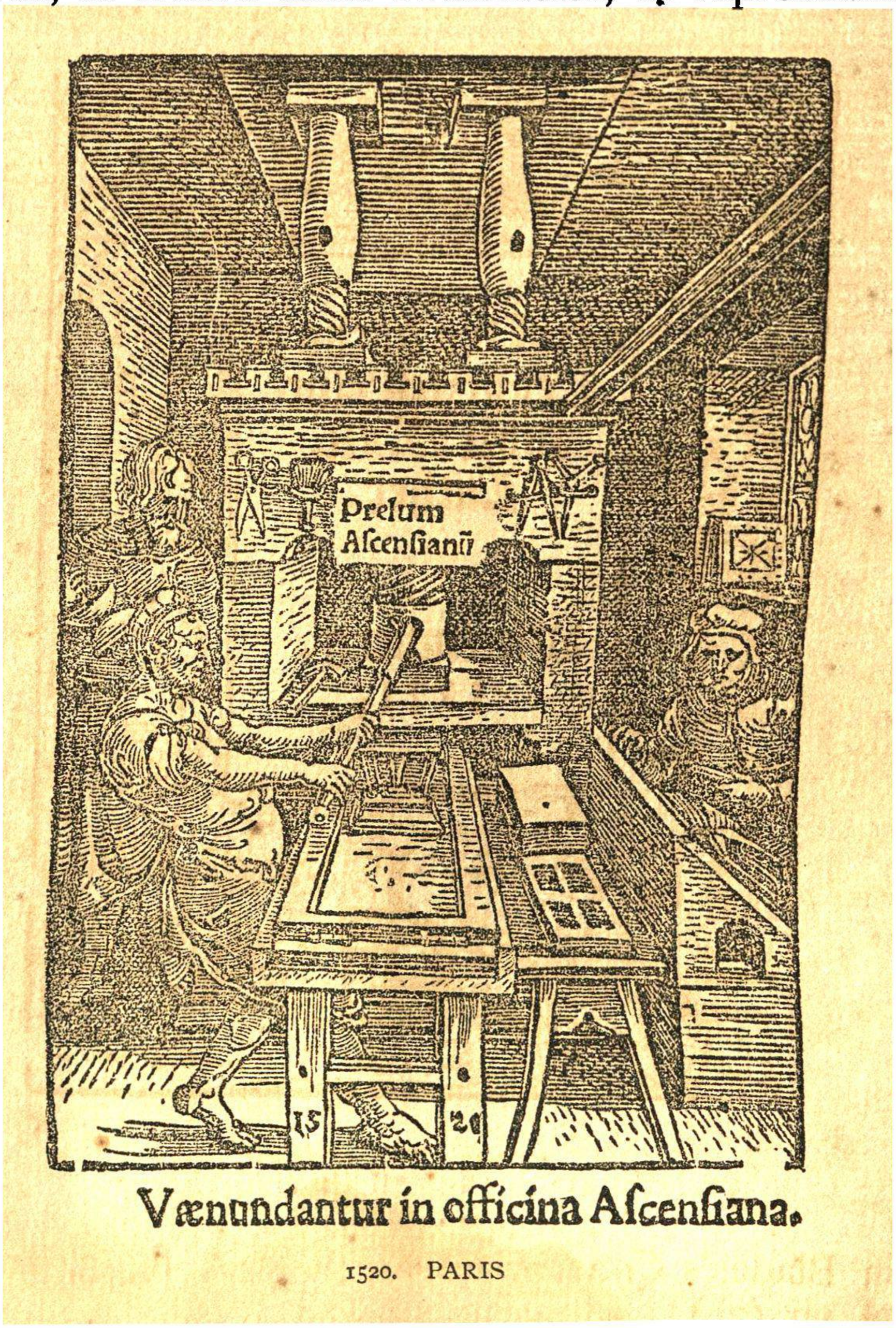
3. 1516 at earliest. A copy of No. 2 with 'P G' instead of 'I B,' and some minor variations, occurs as the mark of Petrus Cæsar Gandavus, who printed at Ghent in 1516-47. The title on the press is 'prelū cesareū,' in one line. (Reproduced in Silvestre, *Marques typographiques*, Paris 1853, No. 1055.)

4. 1520. This date is engraved on Badius's third press, which is generally similar to No. 7, but the waste-sheet and ink-ball on the floor are here wanting, and a brush for cleaning out picks in the type is hung up with the other instruments. The title is 'Prelum | Ascensianū' (or, Ascēsianū), in two lines.

5. 1520-22. In these three years at least, Johann Grünenberg, printer at Wittenberg, used a design by Lucas Cranach (stated to be one of his first experiments in book-illustration) which consists of a border for a small quarto title-page. In the centre of the lower part are I G conjoined, and in the right-hand lower corner is a representation of a press, affording no new or peculiar features. Both printer and inker are on the left hand, and

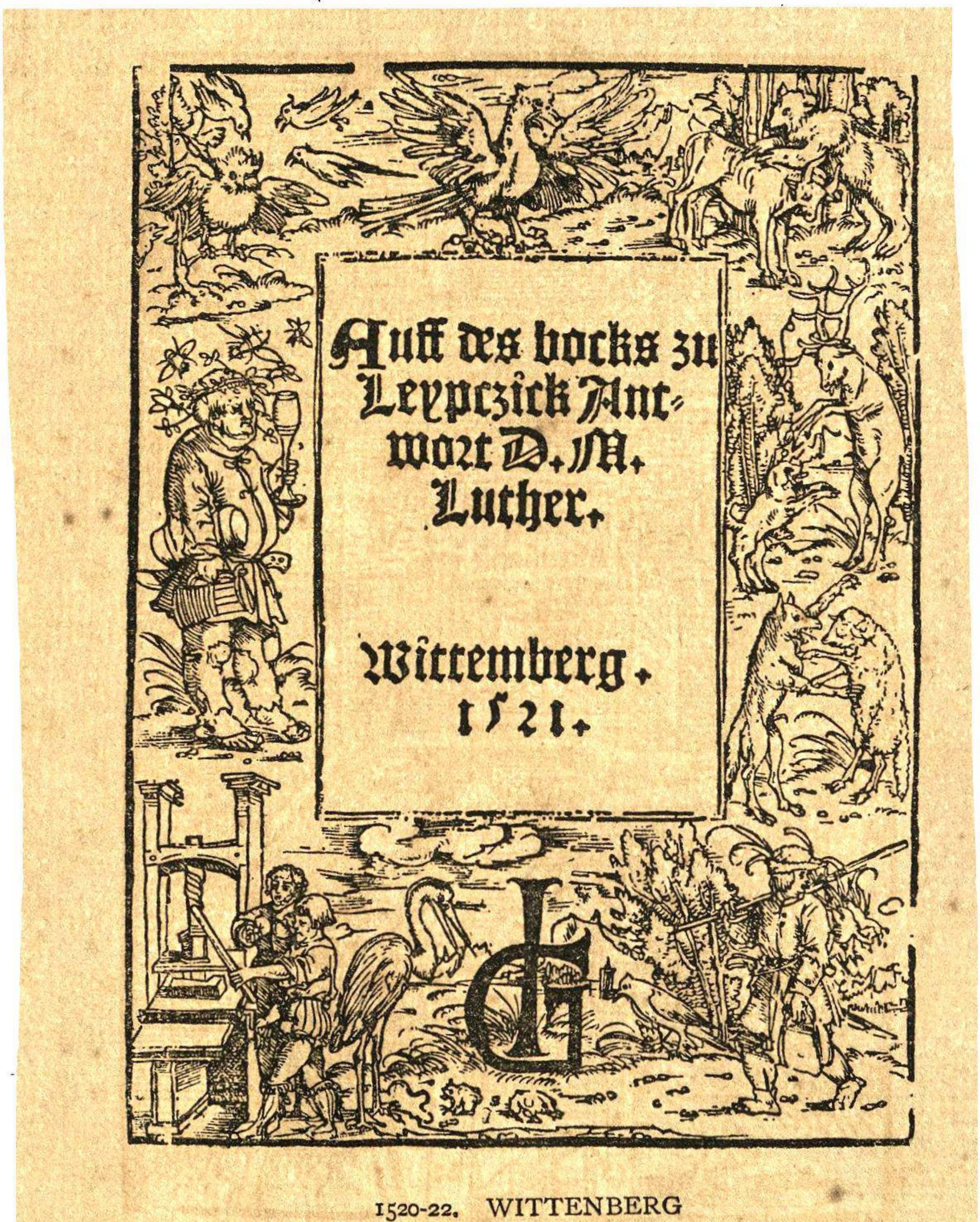
[1] Right and left are used throughout this paper in their true sense, *not* the spectator's right and left.

the bar is straight. There is a handle and rack-work for running the form in and out. (The 1520 issue, in *Biblia noua Alueldēsis*, is reproduced in



A. F. Butsch's *Bücherornamentik der Renaissance*, Leipz. 1878, plate 89: the 1521 issue, in Luther's *Auff des Bocks zu Leypczick Antwort*, reproduced

in A. W. Pollard's *Early Illustrated Books*, Lond. 1893, p. 78 (here repeated): and the 1522 issue, in Luther's *Von menschen lere czu meyden*, reproduced



1520-22. WITTENBERG

in Blades's *Caxton*, 1st ed. pl. ix. A, fig. 3, 2nd ed. pl. vii. (2).)

6. 1524. A copy of No. 2 was used as a device by Jehan Baudouyn, a printer at Rennes in 1524 (reproduced in Silvestre, No. 1153).

7. Between 1529 and 1532 seems to occur a larger variety of No. 2, with a separate table bearing two piles of paper, one blank, and one with four pages printed on the upper side: a waste leaf and an ink-ball lie on the floor, and hung up on

1522-32. PARIS

the press are three tools—shears for cutting out the tympan sheet and other purposes, compasses for testing intervals, and a screw-point for making register. The title 'PRELVM.AS | CĒSIANVM" is in

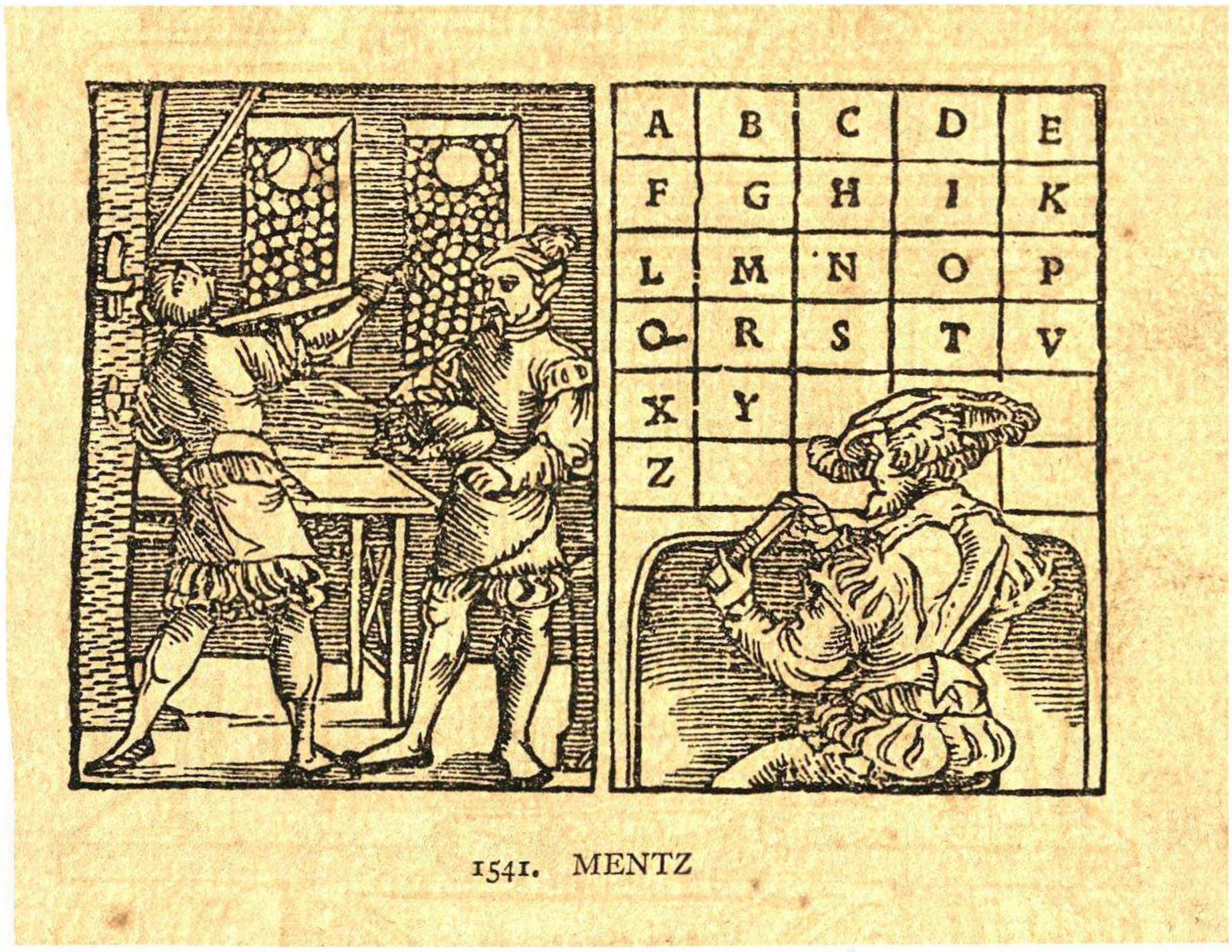
two lines on the press. (*Marques typographiques*, Par. 1853. See No. 8.)

8. 1529 at earliest. Jean de Roigny, who was Jodocus Badius's son-in-law, and a Paris printer from 1529 to 1565, reproduced No. 7 almost line for line, the best tests for distinguishing the two being the single nail-head on a leg of the table which bears the paper, and a double cross near the waste-sheet, neither of which appears in the genuine Ascensian press. (Reproduced in Silvestre, No. 787, Delalain's *Inventaire des marques d'imprimeurs* (Paris, 1886-88) i. 38 in A.D. 1551. See No. 18.)

9. 1535 at earliest. A copy of No. 4 was used as a device by Michael Vascosanus, printer at Paris from 1535 to 1539. (Reproduced in Fridericus Roth-scholtzius's *Thesaurus symbolorum . . . i.e. Insignia bibliopolarum et typographorum* (Norimb. 1730), No. 364: the index to Sylvestre shows that this device was intended to be at No. 98, where, at least in some copies, another now occupies its place.

10. In 1541 Franz Behem, a Mayence printer, published the *De Chalcographiae inventione poema encomiasticum* of Joannes Arnoldus Bergellanus (an early treatise on printing and its invention), and the middle part of the title-page is occupied by an interesting device. The press on the right hand is of an ordinary kind with straight bar and with few details shown: the printer and inker stand on the left. But the left-hand half is occupied by a large case for type, the compositor, with his composing-stick well shown; sitting before it. The case exhibits thirty divisions, in six rows five-wide, with a capital letter in each division which the figure of the compositor leaves vacant. In the first four rows from the top are the twenty first letters

(A–V, J and Ů being omitted: in the first two divisions of the fifth row are X, Y, and in the first of the sixth row *Z*. This arrangement perhaps indicates at least these facts, that the letters were not yet arranged, as now, according to the frequency of use of each, but by their natural order, and also that there was no separate 'lower case'; but further than this it is unsafe to draw inferences.



1541. MENTZ

11, 12. 1546 at earliest. These are two used by Conrad Badius, who printed at Paris (and Geneva), 1546-61, and differ only in minor details. The usual three figures occur. The new points are the three pieces of metal which serve to keep the form in position when run out, and the simpler method of running it in and out compared with No. 2. In both the title 'PRELVM ASCENSIANVM' is on the press, but in one of the two each word is followed by a small ornament, while the other is set in a large ornamental frame. (Repro-

duced in Silvestre, Nos. 867 [with ornament], 758 [with frame]. See Nos. 15, 18, 20.

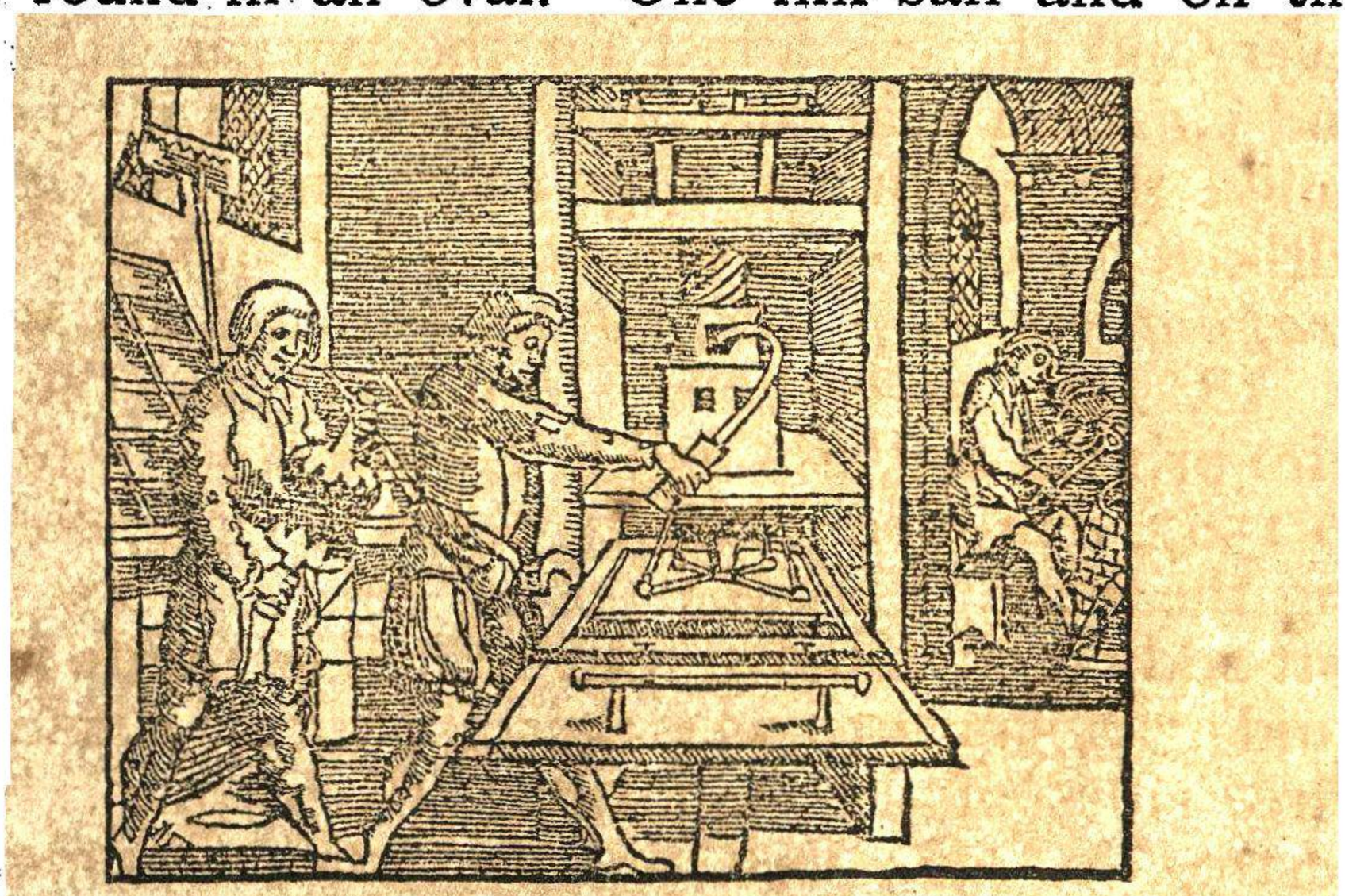
13. About 1548. On the verso of sign D iij in the *Ordinarye of Christians*, printed by Anthony Scoloker in London, is a noteworthy engraving of

NOT BEFORE 1546. PARIS

an English press. The printer and inker stand on the right, and to the left is a type-founder in a room beyond. The framework between the screw and platen is particularly light and open, and there is a rest to bear up the tympan when lifted off the

form, but the compositor is only represented by his cases. For the first time the bar is curved to give spring, and for the first time the platen is nearly as large as the bed.

14. In 1550 a Geneva printer exhibits an original engraving of a press. There are no figurés, but an arm issuing from a cloud grasps the bar, which is straight. The rest for the tympan is introduced, and the motto, 'In sudore vultus vesceris pane tuo,' runs round in an oval. One ink-ball and on the



ABOUT 1548. LONDON

left part of a compositor's case are visible, and some instruments hang on the press. (In the Brit. Mus. MS. Harl. 5915, No. 205, Bagford's Papers. See No. 16.)

15, 16. 1556 at earliest. Eloy Gibier, who printed at Orleans in 1556-88, used two different representations of a press as his device. One, presumably the earlier, is a copy of No. 11 above, the label which bore ASCENSIANVM being left blank in the copy. The other (No. 16) is a copy of No. 14, with variations in detail. The bar is

slightly curved; and the motto, 'In sudore vultus tui vesceris pane tuo,' runs round the oval frame. Two ink-balls are depicted and perhaps some instruments, but no signs of a compositor. (Reproduced in Silvestre, Nos. 964, 544. See No. 14.)

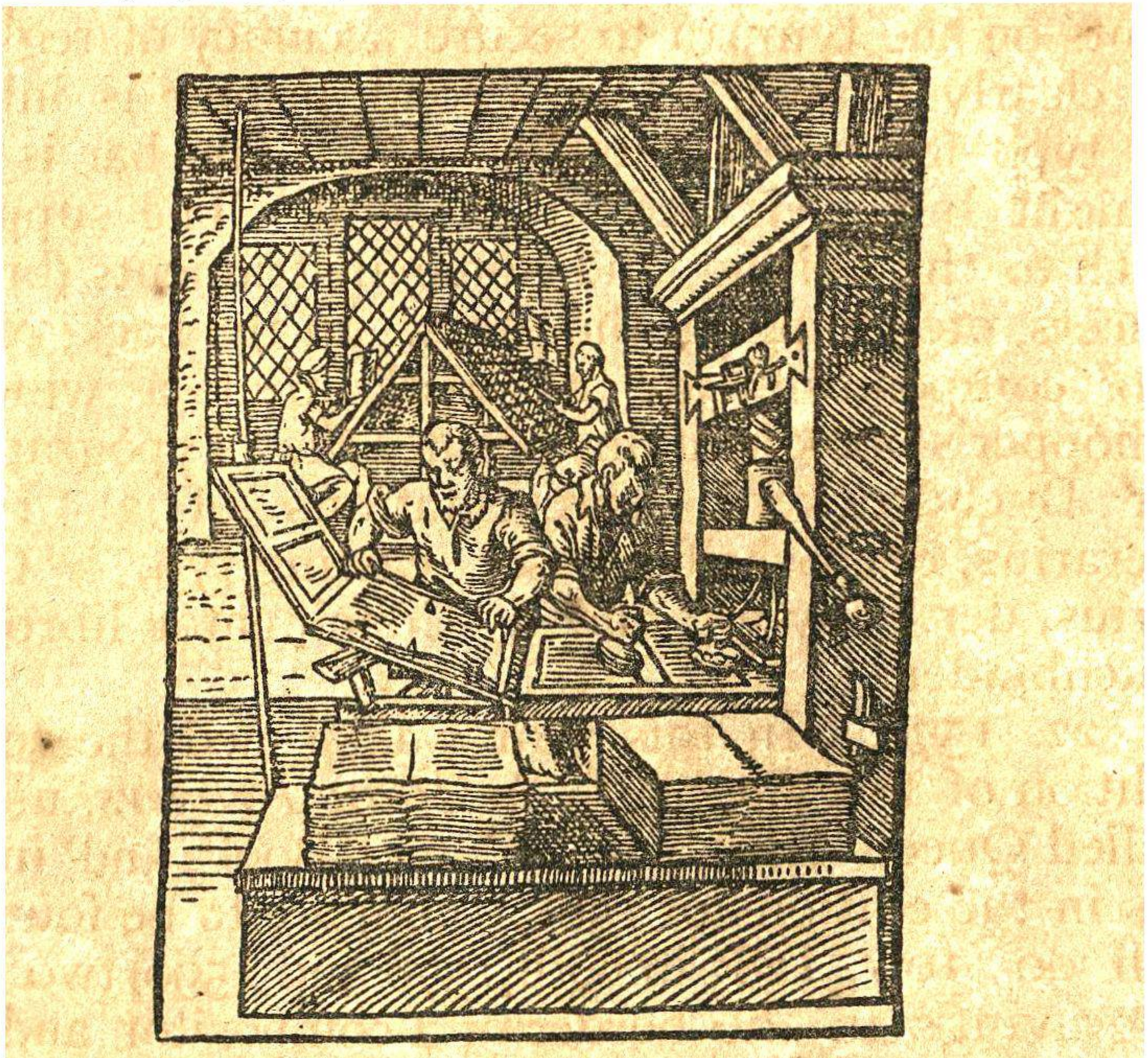
17. 1560. This date is engraved on an ornamental frame surrounding a picture of a press, with the usual three figures. The bar is slightly curved, the two piles of paper are conveniently placed on a table behind the printer as he stands to pull the lever, and there is a rest for the tympan. A glass and jar stand near, and on the floor is an ink-pot not unlike the one in the large engraving (No. 24), but without a ladle. (Reproduced in J. Johnson's *Typographia*, vol. ii. p. 498, but its source is not stated.)

18. 1561 at earliest. Jean le Preux, the first, who printed at Paris and in Switzerland from 1561 to 1587, reproduced No. 11 as his device, substituting the word 'TYPOGRAPHICVM' for 'ASCENSIANVM,' but adding no detail of interest. The motto 'Quicquid agas, sapienter agas: respice finem,' runs round three sides of the engraving. (Reproduced in Silvestre, No. 498; Delalain's *Inventaire des marques d'imprimeurs* (Paris, 1886-88), i. 28, in A.D. 1587.)

19. 1565 at earliest. Michel de Roigny succeeded Jean de Roigny (see No. 8) in 1565, and printed at Paris until 1591. His only device is a printing-press within an ornamental framework, and at foot MR conjoined beneath the double cross used by his predecessor. This is similar to No. 15, but reversed, the compositor being on the (true) right of the picture in the present engraving. (Reproduced in Silvestre, No. 625.)

20. 1567. This is a device used by Enguilbert de Marnef, the second, and the brothers Bouchet, printers at Poitiers in 1567. It is practically a free

reproduction of Nos. 11 and 12. Thus the old compositor of No. 11 and the young one of No. 12 are here depicted side by side at the compositor's desk, but the resemblance to No. 12 is, on the whole, the more marked. No detail of importance is added. At the head and foot are 'Vitam mortuo reddo' and 'Ie rauie le mort.'



1568. AMMAN

21. 1568. This is the well-known engraving by Jost Amman in Hartmann Schopper's Παυοπλία, *omnium illiberalium mechanicarum aut sedentariarum artium genera continens* (Frankfort, 1568, 1574, and 1584), at sign. C 3.[1] It is in many ways

[1] The same plate occurs also in S. Feyerabend's *Eygentliche Beschreibung aller Stände auff Erden . . . durch . . . Hans Sachsen gantz fleissig beschrieben vnd in Teutsche Reimen gefasset . . .* (Frankfort, 1568, stated to have been also issued in 1564; probably wrongly, for both the 1568 books attest that the engravings have never before been seen or issued).

important, being the first representation of a press designed to show its real construction and working. The moment chosen is just after the form has been run out after taking an impression. The chief printer has the tympan and frisket open before him, and is in the act of removing the newly-printed leaf, to place it on the pile in front of him. The metal points on the tympan to secure accuracy of register are clearly drawn. The second printer is inking the type for another impression. The bar is still straight but weighted at the end. The supports reach to the ceiling, and some instruments (brush, pincers, etc.) hang on the press. In the background two compositors are at work near a window. Schopper's book contains besides the 'Typographus, der Buchdrucker,' representations of a 'Fusor literarius, der Schrifftgiesser,' casting type, a 'Chartarius, der Papyrer,' and a 'Concinnator librorum, Buchbinder.'

22. 1578. In this year was issued the second edition of the *Booke of Christian Prayers*, usually called Queen Elizabeth's Prayer-Book, and in this (as in the editions of 1581, 1590) are to be found (at foll. 90, 109^{v}, 128^{v}, in both 1578 and 1590) two small engravings in the border of a compositor and of a printer at work, as two out of a set used for a *Dance of Death*. Very little, however, of the press is to be seen beyond a straight bar and part of the platen or bed. Death as a skeleton is arresting both the pressman and the inker; and a motto runs beneath, 'Pressmen goe play: printing must stay' (or, as in 1590, 'Let printing stay: and come away'). At the foot of the page is a skeleton on a tomb, with the inscription,

'We Printers wrote with wisedomes pen:
She liues for aye, we die as men.'

pray, for my ſake didſt thou faſt, for my ſake diddeſt thou performe the great number of good workes in this lyfe, for my ſake diddeſt thou ſuffer ſo many bitter panges, and for my ſake diddeſt thou geue ouer thy precious lyfe to the death.

Let the thynges profite me which thou haſt geuẽ me of thine owne free will, thou (I ſay) whiche haſt geuen thy ſelfe wholy for me. Let thy bloud waſh away the ſpottes of my ſinnes. Let thy righteouſneſſe hide mine vnrighteouſnes. Let thy deſeruinges cõmẽde me to the ſoueraigne Iudge. As my grief and diſeaſe increaſe, ſo increaſe thou thy grace, Let not my fayth wauer. Let not my hope ſtaggar. Let not my charitie waxe cold. Let not my humaine infirmitie be caſt downe with the dread of death. But euen when death ſhall haue cloſed

¶ The Printers.
Leaue ſetting thy page: ſpent is thine age.

Let printing ſtay: and come away.

the

1578. LONDON

23. 1584. In this year R. Schilders of Middelburgh uses a re-engraving of No. 12 without the frame, with very slight alterations, except that '· PRELVM · : | R · SCHILDERS : · ' is now the inscription, and some details of the original are obscured. (On the title-page of [Dudley Fenner's] *Artes of Logike and Rethorike:* reproduced in Dibdin's *Bibliographical Decameron*, 1817, ii. 120).

24. About 1600. None of the foregoing engravings can in any way vie, whether we regard the amount of detail or the artistic character of the picture, with the one which is the special subject of this paper, a representation of the interior of a printing-office, by Johannes Stradanus. The whole process is laid before us, from the carrying in of the paper in bundles to the hanging of the printed sheets to dry, on a scale unattempted before.

This list, however, would be incomplete without some mention of the object-lessons contained in the Maison Plantin at Antwerp. Within it are still preserved two at least of the old presses used by Christopher Plantin between 1555 and 1589, and several more which belonged to his successors. They have been frequently photographed or engraved, as in Max Rooses' great monograph, *Christophe Plantin, imprimeur anversois*, Anvers, 1882, folio, after p. 242. If we compare the old Plantin presses with No. 24, we shall be surprised to find several marks which would lead us to consider the former as later in style, though not in date, than that of Stradanus. In the latter the heavier and more massive construction of the framework, which is all of wood, the straight and detachable lever, the want of proper apparatus for distributing the pressure over all parts of the form, the absence of any support for the projecting table on which the

form would be run out, are all notes of an earlier and ruder kind of press.

II. Stradanus's Printing-Office

The illustration here reproduced by the collotype process occurs as No. 4 in a scarce book of engravings without letterpress, entitled *Nova Reperta*, which contains nine plates of recent inventions, all designed by Joannes Stradanus, engraved by Philippus Gallæus, and published at Antwerp in about A.D. 1600. Among the other 'inventions' are America, the Magnet, Gunpowder, and Clocks; and a second series comprising ten plates was also designed by Stradanus and engraved by Jan Collaert. The size of the original excluding the title and poetry is $7\frac{3}{16}$ by $10\frac{5}{16}$ inches.

Johannes Stradanus, (Jan van der Straet), was born at Bruges in 1523, and died in Florence in 1605. He appears to have spent almost his whole adult life in Italy, and his biographers do not mention so much as a passing visit by him to the place or even country of his birth. We may expect therefore that the local colouring, where the engraver has not transmuted the designer's details, will be Italian and not Dutch. Philippus Gallæus (Philippe Gallé) was born at Haarlem in 1537, and died in 1612. So far as the ordinary books of reference inform us, Gallæus was established at Antwerp as an engraver, and is not known to have worked elsewhere. The Dutch style of the engraving as a whole seems unmistakable, both in the faces and figures. Unfortunately Stradanus as a painter would have no practical knowledge of the art of printing, and we shall see traces of this lack of detailed acquaintance with the subject portrayed

in the course of the description. We find Stradanus and Gallæus similarly connected as designer and engraver in several other cases mentioned by Nagler.

The letterpress below the engraving may be rendered literally: 'The printing of books. As one sound can be taken in by many ears, so single writings (*i.e.* the type of a single piece) mark (are impressed on) a thousand pages.'

The building within which the printing is carried on has been thought by some to whom this engraving has been shown to be ecclesiastical in character, perhaps a crypt or other chapel. They point to the crucifix, the ornate furniture, the church outside, and to the well-known name of chapel attached in England to a printing-office. But this idea may be deliberately dismissed. The columns, capitals, square windows, and stone groining are those of an Italian ground-floor place of business or warehouse; and the carved work is due to Stradanus's natural tendency to beautify details and to present an artistic rather than a realistic result, while the crucifix is to be accounted for by the popular religious feeling of the time and country. It may be doubted also whether the name of 'chapel' for a printing-office is found outside England. The open doorless communication with the outer air suggests an Italian summer rather than the bleaker climate of Holland.

We may notice first the packages of paper brought in on a man's head and deposited in tied bundles on a table not far from the two presses. Next we see the author's 'copy' ready to be set up in type, in three places, fastened as is still usual to an upright stick of wood above the case which holds the type. Of the compositors two are of a

lower grade, by the window, sitting before slanting cases of a rude kind, the divisions of which must not be taken as accurate representations of the real number. These two are being urged on to accuracy and despatch by a supervisor near the ladder. The third, whose case is more elaborate and is divided into at least thirty-five compartments, is obviously of some rank and position, as his dress, cushion, sword, and dagger show: perhaps indeed he is the son and future successor of the master of the establishment on the spectator's right, and is going through the necessary discipline to fit him for his work. The shape of the composing-sticks is unfortunately not clearly shown, nor is the special use of the little trays or drawers on the left hand of two of the compositors easy to suggest, unless they hold *spaces*, for which even in later cases there is said to be sometimes no place assigned among the type.

When the type is set up and properly fixed in the form the work of the printer begins. There appear to be two presses before us, similar in construction, one of them in actual use and one waiting for the type to be inked. First the page, or rather two pages, to be printed are handed to the man in the background, who having distributed ink from the ink-pot before him over two inking-balls, by the world-old process of 'braying' them against each other or on a plate, is engaged in inking the type. A spare inking-ball is before him, and two more are on the ground near the older compositors.

Our attention is next turned to the printing-press in the foreground. The type of press here engraved is of a simple hand-screw kind, with massive framework, and beams extending to the ceiling, to steady it and to keep the top from

breaking upward when pressure is applied by means of the screw. The only sign of lateness is in the enlarged platen: for whereas the early platen covered perhaps one-fifth or less of the bed, the present one, if it may be assumed that the bed is the surface exhibiting three screw-heads, covers about three-quarters of it only, and would require the full strength of the burly pressman before us. The amount of sheer force required for a proper impression is always a prominent feature in early engravings of a press. It will be noticed that the ink-pot is between the two printers, so that it could be used by each alternately. The printer in the foreground has already inked the type, has fixed the moistened paper in position, has run the form in beneath the platen, and is in the act of bringing the weight of the platen down. There is a clumsiness about the position of the plate on which the ink-balls have been resting—for such the markings show the flat plate beneath the lever of the press to be. Before the pressman can draw the form out again by means of the projecting bar and ring[1] beneath the master's hand, he will have to move the plate elsewhere. It will be noticed that the lever is straight, and apparently not fixed to the screw, nor is there a rest to hold the tympan when opened—all marks of comparatively early date. Mr. Hart, the Controller of the Clarendon Press—who has kindly given me substantial help in the preparation of this paper—is confident that even the earliest presses had an arrangement by which a counterpoise or spring at once took the pressure off, as soon as the impression was taken and the lever started back. It is possible, as the mechanism

[1] It has been suggested that the 'ring' is really callipers for measuring the interval between pages.

would be behind the presses and not visible from the spectator's position; but none of the engravings described, nor the original Plantin presses, exhibit any such mechanism, and the invention is stated to be of about A.D. 1680.

As soon as the platen is lifted the form would be run out, the tympan raised, and the paper bearing the first proof would be stripped off and taken to the corrector, who, in the present case, appears to be the man with spectacles standing near the crucifix. If the proof has already been corrected, and the final printing off is taking place, the lad with an apron, in the foreground, takes each sheet and lays it loosely and temporarily on some other similar sheets, until later they are hung up by means of the ladder on the strings attached to the top of the press, to dry. The two loose sheets just at the back of the young compositor seem only to be copy waiting to be used. The shallow trough running on wheels, with the handle of a ladle or other instrument projecting out of it is perhaps a supply of unworked ink from which the ink-pots are replenished. It might be thought to be the receptacle for used type, the

'Labellus,
In quo strata jacent nigrantia signa colore,'

as Thiboust's poem describes it, where the type would be cleared with or without lye, before distribution. The metal rod would then be for occasionally stirring the type. If the basin were for clear water in which to moisten the paper before printing, the rod, which is clearly not a mere handle, must be a sprinkler, the brush-end being in the water. It has been confidently suggested that the object is a brazier containing charcoal for warm-

ing the room, such as is still in use in Holland; but would Stradanus have introduced it into Italian surroundings, and, if not, would the engraver have ventured to insert it?

One point at least remains, and that a difficult one. What is that little corner picture at the upper left-hand corner of the plate?

At first sight it strikes one as an author at work, and had there been in some corresponding corner a picture of a type-founder, we should have remarked how appropriate it were that the two preliminary processes, which lead up to the production of a book, should be so portrayed. But a closer investigation dispels this *a priori* suggestion. There is a man of some position, as shown by his hat and slashed sleeves—which latter, however, are not unlike those of the older compositors—seated at a table with a lamp before him. To that lamp he is holding up a circular ring with his right hand, while his left is resting on a piece of paper. The ring cannot be the handle of the lamp, and he can only be heating it in the flame. What then is he doing? Hearne, in 1714, thought that we have an allusion to a very early rudimentary form of printing, by which the soot of a flame was gathered on an engraved surface and then stamped on a white sheet. Then he became a convert to Bagford's conviction that it is an allusion to the discovery of the principle of the rolling-press, whatever that precisely means: nor is there any essential difference between the *modus operandi* of the two processes.

I can suggest nothing better than that the scene depicts the one common world-old process, which is printing, though never called by that name—the process of sealing. In that case we have to suppose that the sealing-wax on the paper is cold, and

that the seal itself is being heated. It may be thought a better explanation that the man is feeding the lamp with oil, a process symbolical of industry and literary labour.

It now only remains to give a few extracts from Hearne's prolix description of the picture. No doubt he himself felt that that description was not valuable enough to be printed in full, for otherwise we may be sure he would not have omitted to add one to his numberless appendixes and one to the long list of his interesting engravings. Had he done so, this picture would have been among the commonplaces of typographical history instead of being one of its least known curiosities.

FALCONER MADAN.

APPENDIX

I

(MS. Hearne's Diaries 50, pp. 1-17: May 1714)

§ 1. 'The Picture, here fixed, is now very scarse, and, I think, it is the only one I have seen of it. And Mr. Bagford acquaints me, that he hath only one of the Kind; which makes me set the greater Value upon it, he having made it his Business (for many Years) to inquire after such Curiosities, and travelled to many Places (both beyond the Seas, and in England) for satisfying himself in many Points belonging to the Art of Printing, the History of which he hath undertaken to compile. And therefore if he did not easily meet with it (as he hath assured me he did not) we may very well conclude, that the Picture is a very great Rarity, and fit to be preserved as no ordinary Curiosity.

II

§ 7. 'Having noted before that the Copy is here hung up before the Compositors, I will thence take occasion to

remark the Form of the Paper or Parchment upon which the Copy is written, which being in long pieces, I am apt to think that in those times they writ their Copy upon large Pieces of Parchment or Paper, and afterwards pasted one to another, so as the whole made a great Roll; or it may be they made themselves a Roll of Paper or Parchment first, and then writ upon it, and when the Compositor wanted Copy they used to cut a Piece off and deliver to him. But however this was, I am sure this custom hath been sometimes used since, and particularly by the famous Salmasius who constantly writ on a large Roll of Parchment or Paper (as one that knew him well hath informed me) and whenever the Compositor had need of Copy he would go to him, when Salmasius (who never used to read what he had writ till after a Proof was pulled) would cut a Piece off, and deliver to him, and then he would set himself in good earnest to his writing again, which he did without stirring often from his Paper, his Memory being very extraordinary (tho' his Judgment not so very great) and therefore he had seldom occasion to consult Books (during the time of his writing) he being able to carry in his Head whatever he had read, as may in part be gathered from the great Reading shewed in all his Writings.[1]

III

§ 11. 'Just above this young man is an elderly man (whom I take to have been his [the young assistant's] Father) with a Bonnet and a short Grey Beard, pulling at the Press, which is to be noted particularly for this Reason, that 'tis a Screw Press, and therefore different from those now in use, which are much more easy, and do not require that Strength that the Screw-Presses (made just like the Presses used by Bookbinders) do. For this reason those that wrought at the Presses in the first times were of necessity robust, strong Fellows, as we see this man is. Tho' there was this inconvenience in it that they did not make

[1] [It cannot be conceded that Hearne proves his assertion that the author's copy delivered to the printer was often in the form of a long strip. Nothing is less likely, and neither the engraving nor the exceptional case of Salmasius establishes it. The suggestion of the use of parchment is also not at all a probable one.]

so much progress with those Screw Presses as they do with the common Presses now used, yet they had even in those this Advantage withall that the Work was generally more clean and free from Blotts and other Inconveniences. Nor indeed was there then that Necessity for making such Expedition in their Work as there is now, when we work off a much larger Number of Copies than they did in those first times of Printing. Excepting some few Books they wrought off but a very small Number for an Impression. Two Hundred was looked upon as a large Number. I have given an instance of this in my Preface to Livy.[1] And for my Part I must needs think that a very small Number of Copys was wrought off of Tully de Officiis at Mentz. What should be the reason else that 'tis now so scarce? We cannot think that if there had been a large Number wrought off that it should be as scarse, nay scarcer than a MS^t. I say scarcer than a MS., because we find that MSS. of this Piece of Tully are really more common than this printed Edition. So that Screw Presses were convenient enough for the small Number of Copies they then wrought off, they being not so much at that time addicted to Lucre as they were to the Advantage of Learning, and to make Learning therefore the more set by they thought that their Books should bear a good Price, which would effectually be brought about by printing a small Number; and I wish the same Method was more generally practised now, which however we must not look for as long as Booksellers monopolise it as it were, and consequently value or depreciate Books as they see fit, to the great Loss and Prejudice of Learning.'

[1] Oxon. 1708, vol. i.: 'Istius editionis [T. Livii, Rom. 1470] exemplaria . . . cclxxii tantummodo impressa erant,' with the note, 'Vide [Andreæ] Aleriensis Epistolam V^tæ parti Annotationum Nicolai Lyrani Brabanti in biblia Edit. Romanæ anni Mcccclxxii præfixam, . . . Vide item Boxhornii Diss. de arte typograph. p. 46.' [The statement that two hundred was a large number for an edition cannot be accepted unless Hearne is speaking of the very earliest days of printing. De Vinne estimates the average number of copies in a fifteenth century edition as three hundred, and the Plantin Press, in the second half of the sixteenth century, was accustomed to issues of from 1250 to 2500 copies.]

WOODCUTS AS BINDINGS

EVERY student of art in general and the art of engraving in particular will always find it a matter of interest to trace the various objects to which wood-engravings at different times have been applied. We know that engraving both on copper and on wood has been employed for many other purposes besides the productions of popular works of art or the ornamentations of books; for instance, that boxes of different forms and materials have come down to us ornamented with engravings pasted upon their sides and lids, and even the predellas of altar-pieces are found adorned with coloured engravings. The special use to which wood-engraving has been put of which I am about to speak, is one hitherto entirely overlooked, and is particularly interesting to the book-lover. In the collection of Mr. Cernuschi in Paris, there is preserved a copy of the *Anteros* of Baptista Fulgosius, printed at Milan in 1496 by Leonardus Pachel. This copy is bound in simple boards, but both the sides and back are overlaid with a fine wood-engraving, 21½ centimetres in height, and 30 centimetres across, when held open. There can be no doubt that the woodcut was expressly executed with a view to its being used as a book-cover, for not only has each side of the cover its own special drawing, corresponding to the form of the book, but the back has a particular design admirably adapted to the character of a 'book-back'; moreover all three parts seem

have been cut on the same piece of wood. This supposition is confirmed by the fact that there exists another copy of the same engraving, likewise pasted on two boards, and which doubtless also once served as a bookbinding. This copy of the woodcut is preserved in the Royal Printroom at Berlin, but is seriously damaged.

On the front cover of the book we have in the centre the monogram I H S in a circle of rays; this is in its turn encircled by some conventionalised clouds. In the four corners appear the emblems of the four Evangelists, and the whole is surrounded by an ornamental border with cherubs in the corners.

On the lower cover is a central medallion representing St. George in the act of piercing the dragon through its open jaws. This medallion is again enveloped in conventional clouds. Above and below are vases, from which arise ornamental designs to fill the corners. The border is similar to that on the front cover. The back has a simple linear design.

The drawing and the technical execution of the engraving show the finest workmanship in the style of the woodcuts of the splendidly ornamented books printed at Ferrara in the last years of the fifteenth century by Lorenzo de' Rossi. We have but to call to mind the *Epistole* of St. Jerome in the Italian translation of 1497, or again the *De claris selectisque mulieribus* by Bergomensis, and to compare our woodcut with those in these books. We shall find there the same technique, which is very similar to that of the Venetian cuts; the same style of drawing, the same types, and especially the same decorations. The figure of St. George is a free reversed copy of the engraving in the *Leggenda*

de Sancto Maurelio of 1489, reproduced by Mr. Gustave Gruyer in his article on books with woodcuts printed at Ferrara (*Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1889); therefore St. George holds the lance with the left hand and bears his shield on his right arm.

There can be no doubt that our engraving was executed in the last decade of the fifteenth century by one of the engravers who worked at Ferrara for Lorenzo de' Rossi.

It is as yet impossible to determine whether the woodcut was made for a single individual as a binding for his private books (in which case we should expect to find some indication, such as a monogram or arms, of the owner), or for a publisher or bookseller wishing to clothe his books in an attractive and cheap binding, or whether an engraver made and sold the prints as a private venture.

There can be little doubt, however, that the particular woodcut we have described was not the only one made to serve the purpose of a book-cover, though at present it is the only example of this kind of binding which is known to have come down to us.

PAUL KRISTELLER.

TWO REFERENCES TO THE ENGLISH BOOK-TRADE, *CIRCA* 1525

So little space remains in this number that there is not room for a full-length article, and we therefore direct attention to two extracts from little-known works, which are of interest for the history of English book-production in the sixteenth century. The first of these is from the *Interlude of the Four Elements*, of which the unique copy, unhappily imperfect, is in the British Museum. The Interlude is anonymous, and was issued without date or printer's name. It has been ascribed, on no very certain evidence, to the press of John Rastell, and has the appearance of having been published a little before 1540. Its date of composition must be considerably earlier, for in one of the speeches of 'Experience' we have the statement, 'within this twenty years Westward be found new lands,' which are called America, 'because only Americus did first them find.' Twenty years from the voyage of Columbus would give 1512 as the date of the play; twenty years from that of Amerigo Vespucci, 1517; so that, without pressing the phrase too hard, we may fairly say that the lines we are about to quote must refer to the English book-market about 1520, or earlier.

'The Messenger,' who introduces the Interlude, apologises for the author's ignorance and lack of skill, asking the spectators

'To regard his only intent and good wyll
Whiche in his mynde hath oft tymes ponderyd,
What nombre of bokes in our tonge maternall
Of toyes and tryfellys be made and impryntyd,
And few of them of matter substancyall;
For though many make bokes, yet uneeth ye shall
In our Englysshe tonge fynde any warkes
Of connynge, that is regarded by clerkes.' (ll. 14-21)

and he goes on to complain that

'Now so it is in our Englyshe tonge
Many one there is that can but rede and wryte
For his pleasure wyll oft presume amonge
New bokys to compyle and balades to indyte,
Some of lore or other matter, not worth a myte.'

The chief interest in these lines is in the suggestion that the out-put of the English presses at the beginning of the sixteenth century was probably larger than the usual estimates of it, the bulk of it consisting of ephemeral publications which have perished. In the 'Day Book' of John Dorne, the Oxford bookseller, for 1520, the entries of 'Balets and Kesmes Kerrels' (Ballads and Christmas Carols) at a halfpenny each, show a brisk trade in these 'trifles.' The earliest printed English ballad extant is the *Ballad of the Scottish King*, written in commemoration of Flodden, and therefore presumably in 1513, and it may safely be said that any early sixteenth century ballad is worth its weight in five-pound notes.

Our second extract will give the names of some of these perished trifles, and is altogether of greater interest. It comprises the greater part of the prologue of Robert Copland's *Seven Sorrows that Women have when theyr husbandes be deade*, 'imprented at London in Lothburie over agaynste Saincte Margarytes Church by me Wyllyam Copland,' probably about 1550. Like the Interlude,

however, its date of composition must be considerably earlier than the printing, as the reference to 'the takying of the Frenche Kyng,' *i.e.* the capture of Francis I. at Paris in 1525, forbids us to place it later than 1530. The Prologue takes the form of a conversation between Copland and a customer 'Quidam,' and begins as follows:

'COPLAND. Why should I muse suche tryfles for to wryte
Or wanton toyes, but for the appetyte
Of wandryng braynes, that seke for thyngés new
And do not reche if they be fals or trew.

QUIDAM. With what newes? or here ye any tidinges
Of the pope, of the Emperour, or of kynges
Of Martyn Luther, or of the great Turke
Of this and that, and how the world doth worke.

COPLAND. So that the tongue must ever wagge & clatter
And waste their wyndes to medle of eche matter
Thus ben we prynters calléd on so fast
That marvayle it is, how that our wittes can last.

QUIDAM. With have ye the takyng of the Frenche kyng
Or what conceytés have ye of laughyng
Have ye the balade called *maugh murre*
Or *bony wenche*, or els *go from my durre*
Col to me, or *hey downe dery dery*
Or *a my hert*, or *I pray you be mery*.

COPLAND. Thus if our headeș forged were of brasse
Yet shoulde we wexe as dulle as any asse
And al of baggage nought worthe in substaunce
But bokes of vertue haue none utteraunce
As thus, syr I have a very proper boke
Of morall wysdome, please ye theiron to loke
Of [*sic*] els a boke of comen consolation.

QUIDAM. Tusshe a straw man, what should I do therewith
Hast thou a boke of the wydowe Edith
That hath begyled so many with her wordes
Or els suche a geest that is ful of bourdes
Let me se, I wyll yet waste a peny
Upon suche thynges and if thou have eny.

COPLAND. How say ye by these, wyll ye bestowe a grote.

QUIDAM. Ye syr so muche? nay, that I shorowe my cote
A peny I trow is ynough on bokes
It is not so soone goten, as this worlde lokes.
By saynt Mary I cannot tell the brother
Money ever goeth for one thyng or for other.
God helpe my fryende, this worlde is harde & kene
They that have it wyll not let it be sene.'

* * ● *

'Quidam' then turns the conversation to the *Seven Sorrows that Women have*, as a possible book for Copland to print.

'COPLAND. That is good, but have ye any copy
That a man myght enprynt it thereby
And whan I se it, than I wyll you tell
If that the matter be ordred yll or well.

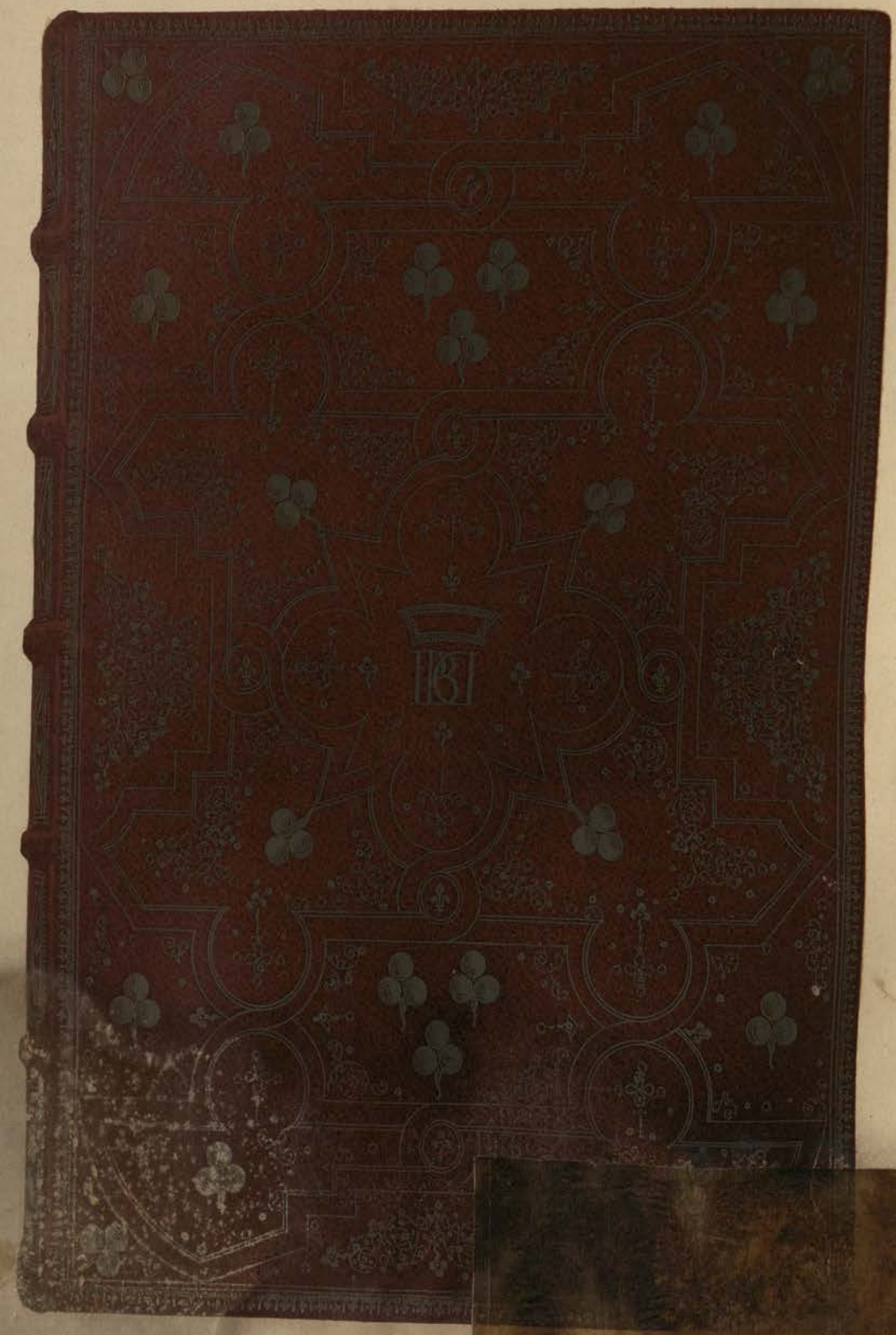
QUIDAM. I have no boke, but yet I can you shewe
The matter by herte, and that by wordes fewe.
Take your penne, and wryte as I do say
But yet of one thyng, hertely I you pray.
Amende the englysh somewhat if ye can
And spel it true, for I shal tel the[e,] man
By my soule ye prynters make such englyshe
So yll spelled, so yll poynted, and so pevyshe
That scantly one can redé lynés tow
But to fynde sentence, he hath ynought to do.
For in good fayth, yf I should say truthe
In your craft to suffer, it is great ruthe
Suche pochers to medle, and cannot skyl
Of that they do, but doth al marre and spyl
I ensure you, your wardeins ben therof to blame
It hyndreth your gayne and hurteth your name
Howe be it, it is al one to mee
Whether ye thryve, or elles nevver thee.

COPLAND. Wel brother I can it not amende
I wyl no man ther of dyscommende
I care no[t] greatly, so that I nowe and than
May get a peny as wel as I can
Howe be it, in oure craft I knowe that there be
Connyng good worke men, and that is to se
In latyn and englysh, whiche they have wrought
Whose names appereth, where they be saught.'

Robert Copland seems really to have taken an interest in good spelling and punctuation, being the first to introduce the modern form of comma, but his successor William did not imitate him in these matters, as our quotations abundantly show. The extract would be worth attention if only for the immortal line, 'A penny, I trow, is enough on books,' and the corresponding couplet,—

> 'I care not greatly, so that I now and then
> May get a penny as well as I can.'

which between them would account for all the sins of the English Book-trade. But the reference by name to so many forgotten chap-books, the complaint of English printers, and allusion to the Wardens of the Stationers' Company are all of interest.



BIBLIOGRAPHICA

FLORIMOND BADIER

ABOUT the middle of the seventeenth century there appeared in France those masterpieces of the binder's art, ornamented with beautiful and distinctive 'pointillé' tooling, which were executed for the Prince de Condé, Pierre Seguier, Fouquet, the brothers Dupuy, Sir Kenelm Digby, and other collectors of the period. These bindings are generally attributed to the mysterious Le Gascon, a personage at one time considered so mythical, that it was even doubted by some whether he ever existed. All uncertainty on this point, however, has been set at rest by the occurrence of his name in several documents which have been recently discovered, and which are given at length by M. Thoinan in his excellent work, *Les Relieurs Français*. The earliest document in which he is mentioned is dated 1622. In the register of the Guild of St. Jean for that year, preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, appears the following entry :—

'Au Gascon, pour une peau de maroquin incarnat pour relier le missel du Concile, in fol., que la Compagnie du Sieur Chappelet et consors ont donné en blanc à la Confrairie, 4*l.* 10*s.*

'Pour un sinet pour servir audit missel, 3*l.* 10*s.*
'Pour une bazane pour une housse audit missel, ... 0*l.* 7*s.*'

As no charge is made for binding the volume, it would appear that Le Gascon made a gift of his work to his colleagues, who used the missal until the year 1645, when Gilles Dubois, on resigning his office of Master of the Guild, presented a new one.

Several references to Le Gascon are also to be found in the correspondence of Peiresc and Dupuy. Peiresc having complained to Dupuy that Le Gascon had badly cropped a copy of the *Opuscula Bellarmini* (which had been entrusted to him together with other books to be folded, beaten, and cut, so that they might be more readily sent through the post), Dupuy in a letter to Peiresc, dated 12th April, 1627, expresses his astonishment that Le Gascon should have committed this fault, 'car il est assez scrupuleux.'

In another letter, dated the 12th February, 1629, written by Peiresc to Dupuy, reference is made by him to a copy of Rigault's *Tertullian* which he intended sending to a cardinal residing in Italy, and which he had had bound by Le Gascon. Le Gascon is also mentioned by François Auguste de Thou, the son of the historian, who, in writing to Pierre Du Puy from Alexandria on the 25th February, 1629, informs him that he had recently purchased several Arabic books, and among them a beautiful copy of the Koran, adding 'la reliure vous plaira, et je m'assure que Le Gascon s'étudiera d'imiter la dorure.'

While these references amply prove the existence of Le Gascon, and also show that he was a binder

as well as a gilder of books, they give no information as to his identity. M. Gruel, in his *Manuel Historique et Bibliographique de l'Amateur de Reliure*, is inclined to think that Le Gascon is not a surname, but the sobriquet of Florimond Badier, a binder who is believed to have come from Gascony to Paris, where he was apprenticed to Jean Thomas, a gilder, on the 30th November, 1630, and who became a master-binder in 1645. M. Gruel advances several arguments in support of this view, and declares that the shape of the compartments, and the disposition of the *petits fers* on the bindings attributed to Le Gascon, are the same as the ornamentations which occur on those bearing the name of Badier. This he avers to be especially the case with regard to the little couped head executed in *pointillé* work, which is so frequently introduced in the decoration, and which has been often accepted as the mark, indeed as the likeness, of the artist.

M. Thoinan in *Les Relieurs Français* comes to a different conclusion. He believes Le Gascon and Badier to be different persons, but maintains that the couped head is the signature of the latter binder. If he be right it necessarily follows that all the bindings with *pointillé* tooling bearing this mark, and in fact all others in the same style as those which have it, are the work of Badier and not of Le Gascon.

Only two bindings signed by Badier are known: the very handsome one on the *Imitation de Jésus Christ*, printed in 1640, and preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale; and that which ornaments a copy of the second edition of *Les Plaidoyez et Harangues de Monsieur Le Maistre, cy-devant Advocat au Parlement, et Conseiller du Roy*, etc.; printed at Paris in 1657. A representation of this, by the kind

permission of its owner, Mr. Wakefield Christie-Miller, of Britwell Court, Bucks, who acquired the volume at the Destailleur Sale in 1891, is given with this article.

The book was edited by M. Issali, an advocate, and is dedicated by him to Pompone de Bellièvre, Chief President of the Parliament of Paris; and judging from the special attention paid to the binding of this copy, it was evidently prepared for presentation to de Bellièvre, whose portrait engraved by Nanteuil after Philip de Champagne is so well known by amateurs of the fine arts. He was a member of a very illustrious family, and greatly distinguished himself as a diplomatist. His death occurred in 1657, the year in which the book was printed.

The binding is of red morocco, the sides being ornamented with a handsome and elaborate geometrical pattern in solid lines, with *pointillé* work in the intervals; trefoils (the De Bellièvre arms being a fesse between three trefoils) are also introduced into the design. In the centre of each cover is a monogram composed of the letters P D B (Pompone de Bellièvre) surmounted by a *mortier*, or cap of a president of a court of justice; and round the extreme edge of the sides is a roll border similar to one much used by Le Gascon. The first and last panels of the back have a fleur-de-lis as a central ornament, and the initials P D B occur respectively on the third, fourth, and fifth; the lettering occupying the second panel.

Red morocco is also the leather used for the doublure, which is decorated with a border of trefoils surrounding a very elegant panel of solid gold lines and *pointillé* tooling, in the centre of which is a cartouche enclosing the De Bellièvre arms, enseigned

by a coronet. At the foot of the lower doublure are stamped the words BADIER FACIEB., which give so great an interest to the binding.

The result of a very careful examination of this binding leads the writer of this article to the conclusion that the work upon it is not equal to that found on the Le Gascon bindings; the marvellous finish and refinement are wanting, and it gives the impression of being only a close and clever imitation of the great master's ornamentation. MM. Marius-Michel in their work *La Reliure Française* regard the binding of the *Imitation de Jésus Christ*, which is signed FLORIMOND BADIER FECIT INV., also as the production of an imitator of Le Gascon 'aussi prétentieux qu'inhabile.' This is certainly too severe a criticism, but M. Thoinan himself, while he maintains that the tooling on the binding of the *Imitation* is decidedly skilful, admits that it is wanting in the solidity and certainty of handling so conspicuous in the other bindings which he ascribes to Badier. He seeks to account for this by pointing out that it is evidently an early example of this binder, but the date of the printing of *Les Plaidoyez et Harangues de M. Le Maistre* is as late as 1657, and the tooling on the binding of this volume is certainly not equal to that of the *Imitation*.

There is also another point which renders it unlikely that Badier executed the bindings hitherto ascribed to Le Gascon, and that is the improbability that he would have so ostentatiously affixed his name to these two bindings, and have omitted to sign others of much greater merit. It is evident that the mystery has not yet been solved, and we can only hope that before long some document may be discovered which will elucidate it.

WILLIAM YOUNGER FLETCHER.

PARAGUAYAN AND ARGENTINE BIBLIOGRAPHY[1]

THE great merit of the Spanish and Portuguese bibliographers has in some degree missed recognition from the exceptional character of their themes. They have done little for general bibliography or the literary history of other nations, but, observant of the German precept, have 'swept before their own doors' in the most thorough manner. Nicolas Antonio and Barbosa Machado have given magnificent examples of what may be termed bio-bibliography, where not only the literary productiveness but the life of the author is the subject of investigation. There are few books of the class to which resort can be made with so fair a prospect of being able to find exactly what is required. The dimensions of modern literature forbid the hope of such works being ever seen again. Bibliography and biography must henceforth walk apart, or at most, as in our own Dictionary of National Biography, one must sink into a mere appendage to the other. Works like Antonio's or Machado's belong to the extinct mammoths of the past: yet more modern Spanish and Portuguese bibliographers have displayed equal diligence in more restricted fields. It would be difficult to praise too highly the research of a

[1] *Historia y Bibliografía de la Imprenta en la America Española. (Parte Segunda, Paraguay y el Vireinato del Rio de la Plata).* Por José Toribio Medina. La Plata, 1892.

Mendez, a Salva, or an Icazbalceta, who, like their predecessors, manage to convey the impression of having exhausted their subjects. To these is now to be added Señor José Toribio Medina, a Chilian gentleman who has taken an entire continent for his province. In 1891, he produced his bibliography of Chilian literature to 1810, the era of South American independence. In 1892 the assistance of the Museo de La Plata, stimulated by the approaching congress at Huelva in commemoration of the discovery of America, enabled him to publish his bibliography of the Argentine Republic, including Paraguay and Uruguay, on a scale and with a wealth of illustration to insure the book, if not the author, a foremost place among bibliographical mammoths, and to suggest that it might be used as collateral security for a new Argentine loan, could such things be. Compared with the tiny but serviceable lists of early South American books which Señor Medina has so frequently published in limited editions, his present volume is as the Genie outside the vase to the Genie within, and it must be the earnest hope of all interested in bibliographical research, and especially of all those who from personal acquaintance have learned to appreciate his indefatigable patriotism and single-minded earnestness, that the step now taken in advance may not be retraced, but that he may find encouragement to produce the still more important bibliography of Peru, now nearly ready for the press, with equal completeness, if not on a scale equally magnificent. When this has been effected, Señor Medina will be at no loss for more worlds to conquer. 'We shall follow up the subject,' he says, 'with the history of printing in the Captain-Generalship of Quito, in Bogota, Havanna, Guatemala, and, please Heaven, in the

Viceroyalty of Mexico, the cradle of the typographic art in America. Finally, we shall publish the general history of printing in the old Spanish colonies, for which we shall be able to employ a great number of documents hitherto entirely unknown.'

The history of South American typography is as interesting in a bibliographical, as it is barren in a literary point of view. The hand-list of the productions of the Lima Press in colonial days, already published by Señor Medina, would alone be a sufficient indictment of Spanish rule, and a sufficient apology for the mistakes of the emancipated colonists. Apart from religious books published in the native languages, and the grammars and dictionaries associated with them, scarcely anything can be found indicative of intellectual life, or imparting anything that the citizen needs to know. Public ceremonies, bull-fights, legends of saints, theses in scholastic philosophy, make up the dreary catalogue, and show how a lively and gifted people were systematically condemned, in so far as their rulers' power extended, to frivolity, superstition, and ignorance. But if South America was for nearly three centuries a desert for literature, it was and is a happy hunting-ground for bibliography. The limited interest and limited circulation of such books as were produced conspired to make them rare; the best religious and philological works in Indian languages were commonly worn out or mutilated by constant use; local difficulties occasioned the production of others under peculiar and even romantic circumstances, such as the half-dozen perhaps printed, certainly published, at Juli, twelve thousand feet above the level of the sea, or those rude but deeply interesting Paraguayan books

which form the subject of Señor Medina's first chapter.[1]

The extreme difficulty of introducing any kind of literature into South America, under the Spanish *régime*, cannot be better illustrated than by the history of the first Paraguayan book, now extant in a single copy in the library of Señor Trelles, a citizen of the Argentine Republic. First of all, about 1693, Father Jose Serrano translates Father Nieremberg's treatise 'On the difference between things temporal and things eternal,' into Guarani, the vernacular of the Paraguay Indians. Father Tirso Gonzalez, the head of the mission, thinks it well that this translation and another, of Ribadeneira's *Flos Sanctorum*, also made by Father Serrano, should be printed nearer home than at Lima, the only city in the vast South American continent then in possession of a printing-press. Though they are religious works of the most edifying character, it is necessary to memorialise the Council of the Indies. Father Gonzalez does not make up his mind to this step until December 1699. At length, however, he writes to Spain, obtains permission, and, by the beginning of 1703, types have been cast and the numerous engravings in the Antwerp edition of Nieremberg's treatise copied by the native Indians, whose extraordinary imitative talent is celebrated by Father Labbé, who visited La Plata about this

[1] It has always been supposed that Paraguay was the first country of South America to possess a printing-press after Peru, but this honour may possibly be due to Brazil. In the memorial of the inhabitants of the province of Pernambuco to John IV., king of Portugal, beseeching his assistance in the expulsion of the Dutch invaders (1645), printed in 'O Valoroso Lucideno' by Manoel Calado, Lisbon, 1648, the Dutch are accused of having propagated heresy by means of tracts, 'which have been found in the hands of many persons of tender age.' These *cartilhas* must evidently have been in Portuguese, they are more likely to have been printed than in MS., and it is perhaps more probable that they were printed on the spot than exported from Holland. If this is the case, Pernambuco is entitled to the honour of being the first city in South America in which printing was exercised after Lima.

time. 'I have seen,' he says, 'beautiful pictures executed by them, *books very correctly printed* by them, organs and all kinds of musical instruments. They make pocket timepieces, draw plans, engrave maps,' etc.[1] One thing, however, they could not do, found types of proper hardness, inasmuch as the requisite metal for alloy did not exist. The consequent blurred appearance of the impression has led high authorities to assert that the types were made of hard wood, which would not *a priori* have appeared improbable. The late lamented Mr. Talbot Reed, however, assured the present writer that this could not have been the case; and Señor Medina proves, by an official letter written in 1784, more than twenty years after the ruin of the missions, that the material was tin. The types which existed at that period have disappeared, the remains of the printing-press are still extant in the La Plata Museum. Señor Medina thinks that they ought to be restored: and so do we, provided only that enough remains to distinguish restoration from re-creation.

The book, announced as about to be printed in January 1703, eventually made its appearance in 1705, with the licenses of the Viceroy of Peru, the Dean of Asuncion, and the acting provincial of the Jesuits, two recommendations by divines, and two dedications by Father Serrano himself, the first to the Holy Spirit, who is addressed as 'Your Majesty'; the second to Father Gonzalez. The place of imprint is given as 'en las Doctrinas,' probably the mission station of Santa Maria la Mayor. We must refer our readers to Señor

[1] Several Spanish books, printed at Manilla in the eighteenth century, have frontispieces admirably engraved by native artists. We have seen an English pamphlet printed in the Orange Free State, prefaced by an apology for mistakes of the press on the ground that the compositors were Hottentots.

Medina's volume for the interesting and minute bibliographical particulars it affords, as well as for the facsimiles of the original engravings, a remarkable episode in the history of the art, and only made accessible through Señor Medina's instrumentality, since the original exists in but a single copy.

The reader will have observed Father Labbé's statement that he has seen *books* printed by the Indians. At least one other book, therefore, should have been executed by them between 1705 and 1710, and Father Serrano undoubtedly intended to publish his Guarani version of Ribadeneira's *Flos Sanctorum*. If he did, no trace of the publication exists at present, nor is any further record of typography in Paraguay found until 1721, when a little liturgical manual for the use of missionaries, entirely in Guarani, with the exception of the first fifteen leaves, was printed at the mission station of Loreto. In 1722 and 1724 the *Vocabulario de la Lengua Guarani* and the *Arte de la Lengua Guarani*, both by Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, a Peruvian missionary of the seventeenth century, were reprinted from the original Spanish editions, with copious additions, those to the latter work certainly, those to the former probably, by Paulo Restivo. Both these books were printed at Santa Maria la Mayor, as also was the Catechism of Nicolas Yapuguai, a native Paraguayan, in 1724. His *Sermones y Exemplos* appeared at San Francisco Xavier in 1727, and in the same year and at the same place was printed the letter of the unfortunate ex-governor Joseph Antequera y Castro, indited in his prison at Lima, to his adversary the Bishop of Paraguay, who apparently only allowed it to be printed that he might add a more prolix reply.

From this time, until after the overthrow of Spanish authority, all trace of a press in Paraguay disappears. It should be added that the seven books recorded are undoubtedly productions of one and the same press, although the place of imprint is frequently varied. One curiosity remains to be mentioned, a fragment of a Guarani Catechism and Syllabary, consisting of two wooden leaves paginated 4 and 13, on which characters are cut in relief precisely as in Chinese stereotypic printing. It is to be supposed that they are older than the books printed with movable types. They are in the library of Señor Lamas, to whom they were presented by an English traveller.

Four out of these seven books are in the British Museum,—the *Vocabulario* and *Arte* of Ruiz de Montoya, Yapuguai's Catechism, and the Letter of Antequera y Castro. The first two were presented in 1818 by Mr. George Bellas Greenough, the founder of the Geological Society. The Catechism was purchased in 1889, and the Letter in 1893. The latter is the only copy hitherto known, and is the only one of the seven books of which some portion is not facsimiled by Señor Medina.

Printing had died out in Paraguay before its introduction into any other portion of the great La Plata region. It revived under Jesuit auspices at Cordova, where, towards the end of the seventeenth century, a college had been founded by Duarte y Quiros, which had become the chief educational institution of the country. By 1765 it had attained sufficient consequence to become sensible of the inconvenience of being unable to print its theses and other academical documents, which, so wretched was the provision then made for the intellectual needs of the Spanish colonies, could

only be done at Lima, more than a thousand miles off on the other side of the Andes. The Viceroy of Peru was accordingly appealed to, and permission obtained, fenced with all imaginable precautions and restrictions. No time was lost in printing five panegyrical orations upon the pious founder Duarte y Quiros, probably by Father Peramas, which appeared in 1766. Two, or possibly three, minor publications, now entirely lost, had followed, when the existence of the press was abruptly terminated by the suppression of the Jesuits, and Cordova never saw another until after the Independence. The types, however, not tin like the Paraguayan, but imported from Spain and cast *secundum artem*, were preserved in the college, and in 1780 were transferred to Buenos Ayres, where it had been resolved to introduce typography, not for its own sake, but as a means of raising money towards the support of a foundling hospital, endowed with the proceeds of the printing-press. Official and ecclesiastical patronage were not wanting; by the end of 1781 twenty-seven publications of various descriptions, mostly of course upon a very small scale, had issued from the Buenos Ayres press. The first of any kind was a proclamation relating to the militia, facsimiled by Señor Medina; the first deserving the character of a book was, as in British North America, an almanac. The most interesting from their subject were pastoral letters by two bishops on the overthrow of the rebel cacique Tupac Amaru in Peru. The press continued to thrive, and in 1789 it was necessary to procure a new fount of type from Spain. The total number of publications known to the end of 1810 is 851—a very large proportion of which, however, are merely fly-sheets. Some, nevertheless, are of exceptional interest, such as th

translation of Dodsley's *Economy of Human Life*, perhaps the first translation of an English book ever published in Spanish America, and the numerous broadsides attesting the impression at first produced in the colonies by Napoleon's invasion of the mother country. Eight proclamations by General Beresford, during the brief occupation of the city by the British forces in 1806, are of especial interest to Englishmen. In one Beresford endeavours to conciliate the goodwill of the inhabitants by promising deliverance from the financial oppression of the Spanish colonial system. They soon afterwards took the matter into their own hands: the publications for the last months over which Señor Medina's labours extend are chiefly proclamations by the Junta and similar revolutionary documents. Among them, duly facsimiled by Señor Medina, is the proclamation of the Junta, with the date of May 23, 1810, announcing the virtual deposition of the Viceroy, the first document of Buenos Ayrean independence, although the authority of Ferdinand the Seventh is still acknowledged in name, and the autonomy of the country was not proclaimed until 1816. Another curiosity, also facsimiled, is a proclamation, in Spanish and Quichua, from 'the most persecuted American,' Iturri Patiño, to the inhabitants of Cochabamba in Upper Peru, more than a thousand miles from Buenos Ayres, exhorting them to welcome their deliverers. The interest of the bibliography is greatly enhanced by Señor Medina's industry in tracing out other works of the writers, published in other parts of South America.

The story of the introduction, expulsion, and revival of printing in Monte Video is one of the most curious—we might almost say dramatic—

episodes in the history of the art. The city, which had existed nearly two hundred years without any more typographical implement than a stamping machine, was taken by an English expedition in February 1807. With the invaders came an enterprising Briton whose name is unfortunately not recorded, but who, before leaving England, had invested in a printing-press and types, and brought them with him with the view of earning an honest penny by dissipating South American darkness. He received every encouragement from the English military and naval authorities, but most probably had to train native compositors, who could not be extemporised in a city destitute of a printing-press. At all events he did not get to work till May, when the first production of his press was a proclamation, from which it appears that General Whitelocke, whose expedition was to end so disastrously, at the time considered himself entitled to exercise authority over the whole of South America. And whereas it has been asserted that wherever an Englishman goes the first institution he creates is a public-house, be it noted that the next official announcement imposes a swinging tax upon the public-houses already existing, without any loophole for local option. On May 23, an eventful date in Argentine history, appeared the first numbers of 'The Southern Star,' 'La Estrella del Sur,' a journal in English and Spanish, conducted by Adjutant-General Bradford, proudly displaying the lion and the unicorn, and addressing the native population as 'fellow-subjects,' a description softened in the Spanish version into *amigos*. The consternation produced by this portent at Buenos Ayres was excessive. 'The enemies of our holy religion, of our king, and of the weal

of mankind,' declared the Audiencia, 'have chosen the printing-press as their most effectual weapon. They are diffusing papers full of the most detestable ideas, even to the pitch of asserting that their infamous and abominable religion differs very little from ours!' The misfortunes of the British arms, however, extinguished 'The Southern Star' after the third number, and the publisher, whose property in his press and types was guaranteed by the capitulation, was glad to sell them to the Buenos Ayres Foundling Hospital for five thousand pesos, which, whether in the spirit of speculation or by reason of the deficiency of the circulating medium so unhappily chronic in those regions, he received in cascarilla at the rate of twelve reals a pound. The object of the authorities was no doubt to get the press and its appurtenances away from Monte Video, for they were immediately removed to Buenos Ayres, and no more is heard of them. But the spirit of the age was to vindicate itself, even at Monte Video. Within three short years Buenos Ayres became the focus of revolution, while Monte Video was still precariously loyal. The Princess Regent and her advisers, then established at Rio de Janeiro, finding that the revolutionists were flooding the country with their pamphlets, invoked the power they had striven to suppress, and, deeming to cast out Satan by Beelzebub, shipped a quantity of Brazilian type, very bad, to judge by Señor Medina's facsimile, to Monte Video, where, for the short remaining period comprehended in Señor Medina's work, it was employed in producing Government manifestoes and an official journal, edited for a time by Father Cirilo de Alameda, of whom it is recorded that he never wrote anything tolerable except a defence of the Spanish Constitution, and

that this was adapted from a panegyric on the Virgin!

This slight notice can give but a very imperfect idea of the varied interest and splendid execution of Señor Medina's volume, a work as creditable to the country which has produced it for the excellence of the typography and the beauty of the numerous facsimiles, as to the author for the extent and accuracy of his research, and the curious and interesting particulars, biographical as well as bibliographical, which he brings to light on every page. Could the remainder of Spanish America be treated in a similar style, that much neglected part of the world would rival, if not surpass, any European country in the external dignity of its bibliographical record. This may be too much to expect, but it is greatly to be hoped that Señor Medina will find means for giving to the world what is actually indispensable to the completion of his important task. He is a citizen of the most prosperous, progressive, and orderly State in South America. It would be to the honour of the rulers of Chili if, overlooking all political differences, they gave their distinguished fellow-citizen the means of associating the name of his country, as well as his own, with as meritorious an undertaking as ever appealed to the sympathy of an enlightened State.

R. GARNETT.

A FORGOTTEN BOOK-ILLUSTRATOR

THE terrible shadow of the Great Exhibition, finally dispelled for us by the long ridiculed 'Æsthetic' movement, lay nowhere more heavily than on the covers and marginal adornments of the books most characteristic of that period. The Exposition of Nations, if it did nothing more, bred in the English public a sincere craving for what was elaborately and barbarously bad in art. Popular editions sprang to meet the demand, and books, in covers that remind one sometimes of casket-work, sometimes of confectionery, or, in extreme cases, of the Albert Memorial, and inwardly adorned with borders of rustic porches, Oxford frames, and Owen Jones ornament, epitomised for thousands of harmless readers the vices of a state-fostered art revival.

It is remarkable that in the midst of the chaos of bad art and cheerful depravity which characterised this period, there should be rising, or already have arisen, a school of such moment and intellectual dignity as the one made familiar to us under the fancy name chosen by its first founders—the pre-Raphaelite. It is to a certain stage in the development of this school, signified in the work of Arthur Boyd Houghton, that this paper seeks to draw attention, despite the fact that his illustrations, so far as the public is ever likely to know them, are to be found almost exclusively in the popular editions of his day, where binding, paper, and 'decorative' borders combine to destroy the

effect of their imaginative force and technical accomplishment.

Taken in the order of their success as painters, the names of Walker and Pinwell are still held as the representative ones of that group of artists which, with Houghton its true head and intellectual centre, was an outcome of the pre-Raphaelite movement. The revolution which the pre-Raphaelites were bringing about by their interpretative and symbolic method, their personal points of view and their opposition to all merely traditional forms in art, showed itself as much in their book illustrations as in their paintings. The naturalism at which they at first had professed to aim was the one thing impossible as an outcome of their methods: and the school which set to work on the definition of selecting nothing and rejecting nothing, obtained, by its strenuous insistence on the aspect of things as once presented to their minds, the most eclectic and fastidious of results. This may be seen fully expressed in the small compass of one volume, the illustrated poems of Tennyson, published in the year 1856. The pre-Raphaelites there worked side by side with some of the older men who still carried out the traditions they were discarding; and the main difference between their work and that of the others was that the pre-Raphaelites had something to say very pertinent to the subject in hand, the rest nothing—nothing, that is to say, to show that they had any sense that they were illustrating not nature but literature.

The illustrations of the pre-Raphaelites were personal and intellectual readings of the poems to which they belonged, not mere echoes in line of the words of the text. Often they were an effort to sum up the drift of an entire poem within the space

of a single picture, as in Rossetti's first illustration to *The Palace of Art*, where, close to St. Cecilia and the Angel, the sentry stands munching an apple. This sums up at a stroke the sensuous philosophy on which life in that 'lordly pleasure-house' was based. Or, again, take Millais' illustration to *St. Agnes' Eve*, which at first seems merely to go over in repetition all that the poem says about snow on the convent roof, and breath that 'to heaven like vapour goes.' But the force of the conception, as an imaginative reading of the poem, lies in its representation of the woman as passing up a steep and narrow stairway, between prison-like walls. It does not require a knowledge of historic symbolism to make us feel the illustrative value of such touches as these.

These instances show what a new meaning the pre-Raphaelite movement had given to illustration, apart altogether from its experiments and discoveries in the direction of technique. It had created or revived a school of intellectual as well as passionate expression: and in regard to these qualities Houghton and those who worked with him were its followers.

In the strict circle of the Brotherhood itself there had been something of a literary element, at times so evident that 'bookish' might almost be used as the word for conveying its flavour. These new men — Houghton and the rest — made a closer alliance with life, with the facts and passions of everyday existence, and threw themselves with personal enthusiasm into an idyllic rendering of the Victorian age of crinolines, breaking away from the somewhat cramped and cloistral point of view which had marked the earlier days of the movement. Under Houghton's leadership, direct-

ing their main energies to the illustration of books, they set to work, somewhat hazardously, to turn to their own use the naturalistic predilections of the age.

Naturalism was becoming the word of the literature of the day: and naturalism is an enemy to all strong forms of art. Walker in the end, so far as his designs upon wood were concerned, fell entirely under its temptations; Pinwell adapted himself charmingly to a sort of golden mean more full of refinement than of courage; Houghton alone worked out a mastery in style compatible with an extreme realism of treatment. And therein lies the point of his achievement. He has shown how far style may reach into realism, giving squalor, ugliness, even vulgarity, and yet retain its distinction of tone throughout; and he has applied the problem with such wonderful address to the material in which he worked, that its difficulties and audacity are almost unapparent till one begins closely to study the method.

But before considering the technical or the intellectual side of Houghton's work, it will be well to give reference to the places in which his best things are to be found. The list given below covers the main part of Houghton's work as a book-illustrator, of which the illustrations from *Dalziel's Arabian Nights* and *Don Quixote*, reproduced here by permission of the publishers, are excellently characteristic examples :—

1. *Dalziel's Illustrated Arabian Nights.* Revised by H. W. Dulcken, Ph.D. London: Ward, Lock and Tyler. 1863-65. 4°.

210 illustrations: 90 by Houghton, the rest by Millais, Pinwell, Tenniel, J. D. Watson, T. and E. Dalziel.

2. *Don Quixote.* Translated by Charles Jarvis. With 100 illustrations by A. B. Houghton. London: Frederick Warne and Co. 1866. 8°.

3. *The Arabian Nights.* Revised by the Rev. G. F. Townsend, M.A. London: Frederick Warne and Co. 1866. 8°.

16 illustrations, 8 by Houghton.

4. *Ballad Stories of the Affections, from the Scandinavian*, by Robert Buchanan. London: George Routledge and Sons. 1866. 4°.

34 illustrations: 9 by Houghton, the rest by Pinwell, T. and E. Dalziel, W. Small, J. D. Watson, and Lawson.

5. *North Coast and other Poems*, by Robert Buchanan. London: George Routledge and Sons. 1868. 4°.

53 illustrations: 13 by Houghton, the rest by Pinwell, W. Small, T. and E. Dalziel, J. Wolf, and J. B. Zwecker.

6. *Happy Day Stories*, by H. W. Dulcken, Ph.D. With 30 illustrations by A. B. Houghton. London: George Routledge and Sons. 1875. 4°.

To these should be added weekly cartoons drawn for *Fun* between 1860 and 1870; and the 'Scenes from American Life' and 'Life in the Far West,' published by the *Graphic* between 1870 and 1875.

In order to give the reader the means of judging of Houghton's work from a single volume, I shall in the following pages take his illustrations to *Dalziel's Arabian Nights* as my main reference. With the exception of the *Don Quixote*, and the American series which appeared in the *Graphic*

they are the most remarkable of all his performances.

This, at the outset, has been suggested as the aim of his technique, to make realism and style compatible with one another. To his apprehension of beauty he brought qualities of vision which were singularly adapted to its accomplishment. For texture or the mould of a limb, for all intricate blendings of form, for the quantities of atmosphere and sunlight, his eye had all the keenness of a realist's. For flow of line, disposition of mass or balance of tone, he was a stylist and designer, working in decorative values to a decorative effect. Assuring himself by the main scheme of his picture that its quality should be decorative, and by a sweeping assertion of white as a term for tones of many degrees, he was able in detail to 'let himself go.' Thus his work shows in many ways an extreme contrast to that of his pre-Raphaelite predecessors. In their designs for wood engraving it is, as a rule, difficult to find even a square inch of blank space left to represent ground or sky: they worked with jewel-like effect, regarding the wood they drew on as a sort of precious metal whose surface was of too much value to be thrown away.

In Houghton's work, on the other hand, we find the value of 'whites' asserted almost by the yard. Broad white upon black, black upon broad white, these were the general lines upon which he worked for his effects. Often within such broad generalisation one will find searching draughtsmanship, marvels of subtle modelling within a small range of tones; always that strange touch of realism that would give to rags their squalor, and to limbs the hairiness that is found in life.

The technical value of these actual points of

insistence for giving quality and form to figures schemed broadly on the silhouette principle will be readily seen. The blurred edge of outline thus

WEDDING CHEER—(*The Story of the Enchanted Horse*)

given to arm and shank took away any 'hard' effect which might otherwise have been caused by strong contrast of level lights and darks. But

beyond that one must remember that the cast of his mind was towards realism, though, at the same time, it was bent on remaining highly personal in its tone; that is to say, on expressing itself with distinction and style. He is, I think, a unique instance of an artist, who, by the rapidity of his handling and by the quality of his lines, seemed to be pursuing dexterity for the sake of realism, and who yet clung to a fundamental assertion of arbitrary tones and decorative values.

His draperies, especially where they ranged towards white, were handled with a marvellous command of texture, and an economy of work such as no other artist but Charles Keene has equalled. Instances of this may be seen in *The Arabian Nights*, in the illustration of 'The Birth of Camaralzaman' or of 'The Funeral Cavalcade of the Superintendent of the Gardens.' And as instances of his common method of playing black against white, one can find no better examples than the drawing of 'The fisherman giving the fish to Cogia Hassan' or than the 'Don Quixote' and 'Wedding Cheer' which accompany this article.

I have said that Houghton's method was rapid: much of his handling consequently has the qualities that belong to a brilliant sketch rather than to a closely-finished drawing. For some this undoubtedly detracts from the technical charm of his work. To one who for beauty of bookmanship looks back to the great days of printing, and cherishes a fondness for the old dark types with decorations made liney and dark to accord, there is a tendency to ground belief in excellence of book-illustration on a method of handling slow, deliberate, at times a little sententious. Rapid workmanship is to him too much allied with the

cheapness and haste of an age which has done so much to mar the beauty of the printed page.

It may be urged, however, that the qualities that belonged to old book-illustration belonged somewhat to the old books themselves. Yet we must admit, surely, that good books can now and then be, which are not slow, are not sententious, are not noticeably deliberate. The step quickens as the facilities for printing expand; and illustration should respond even in the matter of its technique to the lighter strain of its printed accompaniment.

Passing from the consideration of his technique, one comes to the main intellectual interest of Houghton's work, its imaginative force and vitality as an illustration of its subject. It is such work as his that gives to illustration its right value and meaning, so that it becomes not what we so often find it, the dull repetition through another medium of things already sufficiently made clear by the text, but something new with further appeals and fresh charms for the imagination; something in the nature of a brilliant commentary throwing out new light upon the subject, an exquisite parenthesis of things better said in this medium than could be said in any other: in a word, the result of another creative faculty at work on the same theme.

It requires but a very ordinary mind to take up the text of a book and accurately to convert any plain statements it may contain into a picture. But that is not illustration; that is merely the cataloguing of things already known—a very dull sort of proceeding. Yet it is done; done in every 'high-class illustrated magazine' in the kingdom and will be, I suppose, so long as people prefer to be told twice what they need only to be told once.

From such unprofitable adjuncts to the type it is a relief to turn to the new lights and shadows

THE PRINCESS PARIZADE CARRYING THE SINGING TREE
(*The Story of the Two Sisters*)

thrown by a magical mind like Houghton's over any incident it takes for illustration. Where the

writer ceases to describe, the true illustrator steps in. Houghton's illustrations consequently engage the mind while they are delightful to the eye. He realises, as one imagines a fine actor to realise, the very turn of head or inflection of body most indicative of the passion to be conveyed. With an imaginative insight into the poetry of motion of the human body, he catches the most fleeting expressions of character in gesture and grace of pose. His is that nobler power of character-drawing, belonging to the Greek and to all highest forms of art, which reveals character, not merely through the face, where is expressed so often only the accidence of time, but through every limb, even to the feet, the expression of the body's temperament. The pliant motions of a woman's form, the supple half gestures of youth, slight because beauty and youth are self-reliant and strong, and have no need to express themselves much—Houghton seems to have seized on these things like a deep reader of human character.

This mastery of sympathetic attitude, whimsical and quaint at times, as where Aladdin's mother sits crumpling her toes with terror, or where Shacabac bends over the Barmecide with an apologetic knocking of the knees, elsewhere reveals a depth of tenderness and wise insight that convey a charm not to be found in the stories themselves. One such instance comes readily to mind in the scene where Camaralzaman is listening to the old gardener's dying profession of faith. Houghton has drawn the young man lying down by the side of the old one. Camaralzaman's head is bent above the dying man's, and while one hand presses that of his friend, the other draws away the thick locks from over his ear so that he may catch each note of

the faintly-whispered words with least pain to the sufferer. The beautiful eloquence of the attitude receives its final touch in the prince's covering his mouth with the handful of curls he holds, as if so to stifle the expression of his grief.

Often Houghton's illustration will supply humour or pathos or character-drawing, which the story itself has quite failed to convey. In his hands Aladdin's mother becomes a character of delicious comedy; over Aladdin himself there grows a subtle change: out of his first complaisant conceit in the fine clothes his uncle has given him he grows up to the dignity which awaits him; but the mother remains to the end fluttered, giddy, and oppressed by all the greatness which is thrust upon her.

Houghton shows himself thus a master of character; and apart in the furthest degree from caricature achieves his most notable triumphs in the graciousness of his queenly women with their half motions and subtle gestures, and in the virile and composed bearing of his youths.

With Houghton the worship of youth shows very strongly; he seems to delight in indicating in it delicacy and beauty of character; and I cannot help fancying that the great abundance of hair with which he crowns his young men's heads is meant to stand as a symbol of the vitality and glory of their youth.

Yet the impression conveyed by his work is one partly of sadness. It would seem that a great style is hardly ever consistent with an easy philosophy of life. The men who have been 'mannered' after the noblest sort have always been so with the added result of seriousness to their art; and over Houghton's pictures of life there are apt to be shadows, and about his rendering of beauty there is a hush.

In considering his reading of life one may turn to the keenly-controverted assertions of his pencil in the studies from American Life which appeared during the first years of the *Graphic*. The Americans at least showed themselves intelligent in the cry of indignation which they raised on their appearance. Houghton indeed had personal cause to discover the resentment he had raised, but it did not induce him to stay his hand. Undoubtedly to his own mind his scathing attack on the great nation of the West seemed just; gaucherie upon a pedestal of brass was what he believed he saw, and in his drawings it stands pilloried before us, mocked by the mirth of a cruel satire. After his death the *Graphic* expressed itself in tones of half apology for the libel which had been uttered by its artist, and which had perhaps dealt a shock to its circulation in America. Yet artistically the series had been a triumph, and it was an evidence of the prevailing power of style over subject that a plunge into what his mind saw only as an emporium of vulgarity should have resulted in work at once so realistic of its point of view, yet so distinguished in tone.

One of the accompanying attractions in Houghton's work is the degree in which under the fertile inventions of his mind it becomes native to its subject: native not in literalness of studious research, but in its spontaneous touches of local-colour. Just as through all fine literary work run secondary threads of interest and character, so through Houghton's work are to be found by-play and asides going on apart from the main theme: subtle half-tones, mid-distances, and backgrounds, before which as on a living, not a dead, stage he draws his characters. Out of a walled Eastern town a

NEW LAMPS FOR OLD—(*History of Aladdin*)

rabble of hungry dogs tears across the sand, twenty in pursuit of one: how much of the East is summed up for us in the small incident! Touches of bird and animal life constantly come in so. There is one picture of the Emperor of China reeling in astonishment before an open window at the discovery of the disappearance of Aladdin's palace; so rapt that he cannot heed the unfortunate cur whose tail he is treading on; above his head the low sunlight has thrown the shadow of two swallows, beaks meeting in mid-air. How delicately phrased it comes on the blank wall behind!

Houghton was always lavish of such touches as these, expressing the fertility of his invention so lightly, so gracefully; and after all is said, perhaps one's final impression is how fertile was his invention, how unlimited his resource. Yet his actual achievement, even when rightly understood, hardly indicates his place of supremacy above his fellows. Like Walker, and like Pinwell, he died before reaching the age of forty; yet for actual work his life was hardly one-tenth of theirs. The disability under which he laboured made a gigantic hindrance to his progress; hindrance so great that in view of it the sum-product of his life appears not only an astonishing *tour de force* but a work of heroism.

From boyhood he had lost the entire sight of one eye, and as he advanced in life the other became increasingly affected. Great pain and inflammation would often for many days together put a stop to his drawing; in consequence of this his work was for the most part done at desperate speed to make up for lost time. It was his habit to draw his illustrations straight upon the wood without any preliminary sketches, and any study from the model was, for the most part, made actually on the

block, a wonderful accomplishment in view of the elaborate character of many of his compositions. Any variation or important modification which came to him afterwards led to an entirely new drawing upon the wood, so that two or three versions of the same subject would at times be sent in to the engraver for selection. Some of these unused variants I have had the good fortune to see; and if all the beauty and completeness of their draughtsmanship seemed somewhat labour thrown away, yet they told eloquently of the heroic habit of a man who, under his precarious and painful condition of sight, could be so prodigal of effort in his aim after perfection.

I have called Houghton a forgotten book-illustrator. The term is only partly true. Among artists, and those who care at all deeply for the great things of art, he cannot be forgotten: for them his work is at once too much an influence and a problem. And though officially the Academy shuts its mouth at him, while it opens it wide to applaud the more popular art of Walker and Pinwell, certain of its leading lights have been heard unofficially to declare Houghton was the greatest of the three.

LAURENCE HOUSMAN.

LA GUIRLANDE DE JULIE

ON the eleventh of August of the year 1690, in the quiet little chapel of the Carmelites of the Faubourg St. Jacques at Paris, there took place a stately funeral. The great nobleman who was then laid in his last resting-place had so long outlived his generation that he was almost forgotten, but at one time his name had been among the foremost of the literary throng which graced the Court of the Grand Monarque. Not that he was himself remarkable for either brilliancy or scholarship, but he was unquestionably the cause of both brilliancy and scholarship in others. He had given literary tasks to the frequenters of the Hôtel Rambouillet, and had devised the tempting series of ancient authors; since known as the Delphin classics. In short, he was the dignified, pious, and well-informed, but morose, and, as many sorrowfully affirmed, ferocious old Duke de Montausier. For many years he had been a prominent figure at court, before the gilded youth who witnessed his burial were born; had held, in fact, the unenviable office of governor to the most indolent and ungrateful of dauphins. As might be expected from his own unyielding sense of duty, and his pupil's intractable self-will, the moment the latter was released from paternal control he shook himself free from that of his tutor, and the tutor as promptly withdrew entirely from public life. A strange, silent, self-contained sort of man, and latterly an unmanageable invalid, a martyr to

physical suffering, yet accepting neither help nor pity. Apparently as unpromising a subject, in a Frenchman of the old *régime*, for sentiment or romance, as could easily be found. Yet once upon a time he had figured as the hero of a very romantic incident. The complete story of his career is far too long and too complicated to be recited in this place. It would include, indeed, one of the most brilliant episodes of French literature, and involve the complete biography of the first and most illustrious of French salons,—that of Catherine de Vivonne d'Angennes, Marquise de Rambouillet. Only a brief sketch therefore, just sufficient to give a clear idea of the character and surroundings of the remarkable manuscript known as the Guirlande de Julie, can be attempted. When a young man, the eccentric projector of this volume was known as the Baron de Salles. His name was Charles de Sainte Maure, and he was the younger son of Léon de Ste Maure, Baron de Montausier, and of Marguérite de Chateaubriant, thus representing two of the most illustrious houses of Brittany and Touraine.

Like his elder brother Hector, the Baron de Salles was educated for the army, and spent the earliest years of his manhood in active service. Vivacious and headstrong, yet eminently truthful, he required firm discipline to keep him within the prescribed limits of courtly etiquette, but this discipline was efficiently exercised. He was somewhat lacking in scholarship—at least in that classical learning which was then considered the only mark of the accomplished scholar. At one time he seemed destined never to reach even ordinary proficiency. But he incessantly cultivated poetry—a devourer of the productions of others, and not unfrequently a candidate for poetic honours himself. He was,

therefore, not without culture. Some of his compositions survive among the madrigals preserved in the Guirlande. His military rank speedily convinced him that for a comparative ignoramus to retain any important command in the armies of Louis le Grand would be impossible; and this conviction did for him what no amount of school rivalry had ever done: it created a thirst for more solid acquirements. Soon the thirst became a passion, and the once indolent and poetic *rêveur* became a profoundly busy student. Whilst still making poetry and romance his recreation, his midnight oil was consumed over the graver studies that belonged to an ambitious disciple of Montluc. He read deeply both in ancient and modern history, and in no very lengthy period made himself not only a bold and capable commander and a passable diplomatist, but a more than ordinary historical scholar. Such was the man—evidently a man of will and purpose; not, it may be, gifted with a full measure of the statesman's art, for he was always somewhat deficient in diplomacy, yet able to devise, bold to execute, and, above all, to be superbly patient.

When the Baron came to Rambouillet for the first time, in 1631, he was just twenty-one years of age and the *grande passion* of his life began with his introduction to Mademoiselle Julie d'Angennes. The effect of her various charms upon him was instantaneous, but many obstacles stood in the way of success. In the first place, he was only the cadet of his family; and there had been hints of an understanding between the lady and his elder brother. Again, he was poor; and, to crown all, a conscientious Calvinist. Taking it altogether, there seemed little chance of a course of true love at all, to say nothing of the smooth current. She quickly

gave him to understand that she had no desire to give herself a master, and meant to keep her liberty as long as she could. And it would seem she kept her word. So matters were allowed to glide, upon the platform of a Platonic or poetic friendship. The first event, which might be deemed an advantage, came in a terrible blow to himself. This was the death, in action, of his elder brother. Certainly no sincerer tears than his were shed over the grave of Hector, Baron de Montausier, for Charles and he were devoted to each other. But Charles thereby rose to an important command—a higher rank and title, and the sole heirship to his father's estates. Surely this was a grand opportunity for a waiting lover. It was one, however, that had no effect. Julie still remained, or became even more inflexible.

Meantime months, even years, slipped away. In 1640 the idea—not altogether original, it may be said—began to shape itself in the mind of the persistent, if baffled, wooer, of composing a sort of poetic garland of madrigals—then a fashionable form of versification—each devoted to a certain flower, but all involving some delicate compliment to Mademoiselle de Rambouillet. The flowers were to be painted from nature by the ablest painter that could be found in France, and the verses to be finely penned by an equally skilful calligrapher. The volume should then be appropriately bound, and on a suitable occasion should be presented to the lady. He laid his scheme before his friends, all more or less *habitués* of the Hôtel de Rambouillet, all more or less accomplished versifiers, and all devoted admirers of Mademoiselle de Rambouillet. His friends, and the friends of his friends, caught at the idea with enthusiasm. Even her father the

Marquis joined in the enterprise. For the paintings, the book was entrusted to Nicholas Robert, painter to Gaston of Orleans, and for the penmanship to Nicholas Jarry—not a miniaturist or illuminator, as he is sometimes called, but an accomplished calligrapher, and one of the most famous the world has ever known.

II

Let us now turn from the originator of this unique performance to the distinguished personage for whom it was executed. She was the fourth daughter of the Marquis Charles d'Angennes de Rambouillet, and of the already-named Catherine de Vivonne-Savelli. Her name was Julie-Lucine. In 1600 the Marquis had brought home his brilliant young Italian bride of sixteen,[1] and their house soon became the resort of the best literary society in Paris. The Hôtel de Rambouillet in fact grew into a kind of academy in which the most promising wits of the coming age were proud to graduate; while the kindly patronage of Madame la Marquise was held by all as equivalent to an official diploma for any aspirant to literary fame. Her smile was the life-giving sunshine of genius, her friendship the passport into the inner sanctuary of the Muses. She was for the time the undisputed sovereign of the realms of poetry and romance, presiding over a tribunal from which there was rarely any appeal. Only the genius of Molière dared to invade with satire the esoteric coteries of Rambouillet. The three elder sisters of Julie were all *religieuses*—sisters, in the wider sense, ultimately Abbesses of

[1] Catherine de Vivonne was born at Rome in 1588. Her father, the Marchese di Pisani, was French ambassador, and her mother belonged to the old Roman family of Savelli.

several religious foundations. Nor was Julie herself less richly endued with the sublime spirit of self-renunciation, for when her youthful brother was struck down by the plague, or smallpox, in 1631, she had persistently nursed him through its most dangerous stages, until the fatal end.

It was immediately after this tragic event that the young Baron de Salles, called in later times, by courtesy or ignorance, the Marquis de Montausier, three years her junior, had first made her acquaintance. When he conceived his romantic project of the Guirlande, she was just thirty-three. The stolidity with which he had been credited was now believed to be an amazing cloak. All at once he found himself a famous wit, no one probably being more surprised than himself at the discovery. Yet here was a scheme steeped in romance:—Delicacy, even brilliancy—a conception as worthy of the genius of Chatelain or Desmarets, as it was beyond the shallow imagination of Voiture, emanating from the brain of a simple commander of battalions. The fever to become associated with the new garland—to join the new Pleiades—spread like wildfire through the ranks of Rambouillet. When the book was finished and presented to the wayward enchantress, she was at last touched with compunction, if not with love, and was unable to conceal the fact that her patient suitor had almost broken down her resolution. The Guirlande was given on 1st January 1642, and henceforward her marriage seemed to be only a question of arrangements. She accepted the book, and the giver was determined that she should accept him also. Still delays of various kinds intervened, and it was not until 1645, about fourteen years from the beginning of her acquaintance with Montausier,

that the marriage so long delayed, took place—the bride being then a mature but still lovely dame of thirty-eight. In after years, and about the same time that Montausier received his Dukedom, namely in 1664, she was appointed first maid of honour to the Queen in the place of the Duchess of Navailles, and *gouvernante* to the royal children.

It was whilst the Duke was holding the appointment of governor to the Dauphin that the idea, chiefly it is true, originated by the practical mind of Huet, was adopted, of editing a series of classic authors on a plan that might fairly be called a royal road to learning. In spite, however, of the Delphin classics, the Duke's method was distasteful to the Dauphin, and so fixed his aversion to books in general that he declared with some force, when once free of tutelage, he would never of his own choice open another book, a vow which he religiously kept. Montausier, with the best intentions, had been too severe, and when his governorship came to an end he retired from the court. The Duchess lived until 1671, and after her death the Duke hardened into a morose and unapproachable recluse. He died, as we have seen, in 1690, with the twofold reputation of a saint and a cynic. Be this as it may, the ingratitude of French royalty was no true measure of the character of this upright, if unamiable, mentor. Setting aside romance—it is certain that no more perfect gentleman or courageous soldier ever graced a court than the knightly and faithful lover of Julie d'Angennes.

III

We now come to the volume itself, or rather to the volumes, for there are at least three more or less

original MSS. of the Guirlande de Julie. But of course only one of them is the actual presentation copy, and this we will examine first.

It is a small folio, and when I saw it at the Trocadéro in the Exhibition of 1878, the binding was a dark wine red. It is the original Levantine red morocco of Le Gascon, darkened with age. It is of this material both within and without; and on both sides of the covers are stamped a number of I.-L. in an interlaced cypher. The book is composed of 98 folios in all, of which the first three are blank, except that on the top of fol. 2 is a note of presentation from the Abbé d'Orléans De Rothelin to M. de Boze, the antiquary. 'Je prie M. de boze de vouloir bien accepter le present livre, et de le placer dans son magnifique cabinet comme une marque de ma tendre amitie.—L'Abbé de Rothelin.' On fol. 4 is the title, which runs thus:

LA GUIRLANDE | DE' | JULIE | pour | Mademoiselle de Rambouillet | *Julie-Lucine* | D'ANGENES | Escript par N.Jarry | 1641. ||

On fol. 5 is painted a superb garland composed of the flowers afterwards referred to individually by the members of the Salon d'Arthénice, enclosing the words:

LA | GUIRLANDE | DE | JULIE |

Fol. 6 is blank.

Fol. 7 contains a miniature of Zephyr in a wreath of clouds, holding in his right hand a rose, and in

his left a coronet or garland of flowers two inches or more in diameter. He is wafting the flowers earthwards.

On fol. 8 is a Madrigal: Zéphire à Julie.

Then follows the body of the work. It may be said generally that the arrangement is first a flower and then a Madrigal, with the author's name in the left-hand corner; both appearing on the front or *recto* of the leaf; never a flower with verses beneath, as described by Huet,[1] and after him by I. D'Israeli in his *Curiosities of Literature.* The flowers are 29 in number, but there are 61 Madrigals, for there are frequently several Madrigals upon the same flower. As this is not a literary disquisition on the merits or variations of the poetical compositions contained in the Guirlande, but simply a notice of it as a sumptuous book, I may be pardoned for merely naming the authors and the titles of their verses, without entering into the question of authenticity or other matters of importance to the scholar. The reader who seeks such information should consult the beautiful edition by M. Octave Uzanne, and the pages of *Le Livre.*[2]

The Madrigal entitled Zéphire à Julie, commencing

'Recevez ô Nymphe adorable
Dont les cours reçoivent les lois
Cette COVRONNE plus durable,' etc.

is anonymous, and its authorship unknown—unless it was written by the Baron de Montausier himself. For the rest, they stand thus:

[1] *Huetiana*, Paris, 1722. 12°.
[2] *La Guirlande de Julie*, 1875. 12°. *Le Livre*, No. 57, Sept. 1884. Also *L'Appendice de Précieux et Précieuses*, par M. Ch. L. Livret, Paris 1870. 2nde Edit.

LA GUIRLANDE DE JULIE

FLOWERS	AUTHORS
1. Couronne	Chapelain
,,	De Malleville
,,	De Scudéry
2. La Rose	Habert (Abbé de Cerisy)
,,	De Malville (*sic*)
,,	De Montausier
,,	Colletet
,,	Do.
3. La Narcisse	De Montausier
,,	Do.
,,	Habert (Capt. of Artillery)
,,	Habert (Abbé de C.)
4. L'Amaranthe	De Gombaud
5. L'Angélique	De Montausier
,,	De Malleville
6. L'Oeillet	Do.
7. La Fleur de Thyme	D'Andilly, fils
8. Le Jasmin	De Montausier
9. L'Anémone	Do.
10. La Violette	Desmarets
,,	De Malleville.

This madrigal of Desmarets is so superior to the rest, and has been so much admired, that I must make an exception in its favour, and give it entire.

LA VIOLETTE[1]

'Modeste en ma couleur, modeste en ma séjour,
Franche d'ambition, je me cache sous l'herbe ;
Mais si sur votre front je me puis voir un jour
La plus humble des fleurs sera la plus superbe.'

---

[1] The Edition of 1729, which gives this Madrigal as 'anonyme,' transposes the first and second lines, and reads 'Fleur sans ambition' instead of 'Franche d'ambition.'

	FLOWERS	AUTHORS
11.	Les Lys	D'Andilly
	,,	De Montausier
	,,	De Malleville
	Le Lys	Des Réaux Tallement
	,,	Martin
	,,	Do.
	,,	Conrart (M.C.)
	,,	Desmarets (Anonyme | Ed. 1792)
12.	La Tulipe	Godeau
	,,	Arnaud de Corbeville
	,,	Conrart (M.C.)
	,,	De Montausier
13.	La Jonquille	Do.
14.	L'Hyacinthe	De Racan [1]
	,,	De Montausier
	,,	Conrart (M.C.)
15.	L'Eliotrope	De Montausier
16.	Le Soucy	Do.
	,,	Habert (Capt.)
	,,	Do.
	,,	Colletet
	,,	De Scudéry
	,,	De Malleville
	,,	D'Andilly, fils
17.	La Pensée	Colletet
18.	Les Soucis et les Pensées	De Malleville
19.	La Fleur d'Orange	Conrart (M.C.)
20.	Le Safran	De Montausier
21.	La Flambe	De Malleville
	,,	De Montausier
22.	Le Magnet	De Briote

[1] Ed. 1729. M. le M. de R. (Le Marquis de Rambouillet.)

	FLOWERS	AUTHORS
23.	La Fleur de Grenade	Conrart (M.C.)
	,,	De Briote
24.	La Fleur d'Adonis	De Malleville
25.	La Perce-Neige	De Montmor-Habert
	,,	De Briote
26.	Le Pavot	De Scudéry
27.	L'Immortelle	Do.
28.	L'Immortelle blanche	Conrart (M.C.)
29.	Le Méléagre	De Scudéry

This brings us to fol. 95. The rest consists of an alphabetical List of Contents, but arranged, not according to the name of the flower or of the author, but of the first lines of the Madrigals. This causes many needless repetitions. In the account of the volume given by the Abbé *de la* Rive this is amended by an alphabetical *table* according to the names of the flowers—adding the first lines below.

The idea of a Garland of poems is not altogether new in this collection, though being combined with the painted flowers, this one is unique. For example, in 1595, there was published at Genoa, 'La Ghirlanda della Contessa Angela Bianca Beccaria, con testa di Madrigali di diversi Autori dichiarati da Stefano Guazzo.' 4°. Again at Pavia, in 1596: 'Ghirlanda di fronde, fiori, e frutti, ed altre rime del Signor Alcide, Infiammati, per l'Illustrissima Signora Zenobia Reina Beccaria, Patrona Gentil-Donna di Pavia.' 12°. This was evidently suggested by that of the preceding year, and bears the name of the same publisher. Several French works exist under the name of Couronne des Fleurs. In England we have Robin Hood's Garland and numerous

collections of mediæval origin are recorded under similarly fanciful titles, while almost immemorial in its antiquity is the usage of such names in the East. Any attempt to criticise the paintings of Robert would be impertinent. They are as carefully finished as usual, but whoever wishes to see what his work was like may find examples of it among the portfolios preserved in the National Library at Paris. Robert was in the service of Gaston Duke of Orléans, and copied the flowers in the Blois and Luxembourg Gardens, at 100 francs the page. He copied birds also, and insects. He was born in the same year as the Duke de Montausier, at Orléans. As to Jarry, he is among the most famous of calligraphers, though Jean Pierre Rousselet and Prévost are little, if at all, inferior to him in skill. Occasionally he added a little painting, but he was not a miniaturist or illuminator. In my *Dictionary of Miniaturists*, etc., the reader will find a considerable list of his various performances, all of which are considered masterpieces of penmanship.[1]

It may now be interesting to record the after history of the Guirlande. So long as Madame de Montausier lived, it was most carefully preserved in her own cabinet. On her death it was kept with equal care by her husband, and was left by him to his daughter, the Duchesse d'Uzès. After her death it was sold privately for 15 louis, or about 200 francs. This owner sold it to M. Moreau, a gentleman in the service of the Duke of Burgundy, who gave it to Madame de Gaignières, wife of the famous collector. When she died it passed into the hands of the Chevalier de Bauche. At the sale of his books in 1726 it was bought by the Abbé de Rothelin, who, as we have seen, gave it to M. de Boze.

[1] Bradley, J. W., *Dict. of Miniaturists*, etc., vol. ii. pp. 143-148.

Of the heirs of M. de Boze, it was bought by M. de Cotte, who gave it to M. Gaignat,[1] with whose collection it passed into the Library of the Duke de la Vallière. It appears in the catalogue prepared by De Bure.[2] At the Vallière sale it was bought by Mr. Payne for 14,510 francs. This brings its career down to 1784. It is very curious that after so many vicissitudes it should eventually come to the family to which it originally belonged. It was bought by the Duchess de Chastillon, probably at Hamburg, where it had been offered for sale in 1795, and at her death it passed to her daughter, another Duchess d'Uzès. It is still in possession of the family of Crussol. The present Duke d'Uzès has very liberally lent it on several occasions for exhibition. More than 100,000 francs have been offered for it and declined by the present owner.

The other copies of the Guirlande, one at least of which was also written by Jarry, are in a smaller form and without pictures. One of them is in the National Library at Paris, No. 19142. Another is said to be found, in part at least, in No. 19145. They are written in similar hands. The pictorial copy is executed in a fine Roman hand intermixed with Italic—the usual hands employed by Jarry in the numerous prayer-books, etc., written by him, of which examples may be seen in the British Museum.

A contemporary copy, which also once belonged to the Abbé de Rothelin, is on vellum, in octavo. It contains the arms of the Abbé engraved and printed on paper, as a book-plate pasted inside the first cover. It was probably given to M. de Boze at the same time as the larger copy, for there

[1] *Catal. de Gaignat.: Belles Lettres*, No. 1867.
[2] *Biogr. Instructive: Belles Lettres* tom i. p. 524, No. 3753.

is no mention of it in the Rothelin Catalogue. This copy was executed by order of the Baron de Ste Maure and bears the date of 1641. One of the smaller transcripts is described by M. Paul d'Estrées in *Le Livre*, No. 57 (Sept. 10, 1884), whose article furnishes the note with which I conclude this paper. The 'Nouvelles Recherches sur La Guirlande de Julie,' to which I refer, are addressed to M. Oct. Uzanne, and are almost entirely bearing upon the literary history of the Madrigals. The writer, after referring to the two MS. copies mentioned by M. Uzanne, now brings forward the one numbered 19142 of the National Library. It was formerly No. 1668, and came from the fonds St. Germain des Prés (No. 2351, fds. fr.). It contains upwards of 200 folios, of which the commencing portion is dedicated to the Guirlande—the remainder being given to the 'légion des poètes de ruelles,' cited by Des Réaux in his *historiettes*. The great feature of these later copies is the addition of notes in a seventeenth century hand. This, at least, is the case with MS. 19142, where M. d'Estrées has found the date of 1653 attached to some of the pieces. He has discovered that the two copies already referred to passed into the fonds St. Germain from the collection of the Marquis de Coislin, and primitively belonged to that of the Chancellor Séguier, from whom the Marquis inherited them. A communication from M. Léopold Delisle, the Administrateur-Général of the Bibliothèque Nationale, enables me to add one or two particulars not noted in M. d'Estrées' interesting article in *Le Livre*. M. Delisle gives the title thus: La Guirlande ‖ de ‖ Julie, ‖ pour ‖ Mademoiselle de Rambouillet, ‖ Julie Lucine d'Angennes.

M. d'Estrées mentions that on the verso of the

title is a notice of the circumstances under which the *Guirlande* was composed :—

'Monsieur le Marquis de Montauzier fit faire cette guirlande pour Mademoiselle de Rambouillet, qu'il espousa après treize ans d'amour (*services* erased). Plusieurs de ses amys et des amys de ses amys firent des madrigaux à son exemple; monsieur le Marquis de Rambouillet mesme en fit un par compagnie, voyant que tout le monde en faisoit. Monsieur de Montauzier fit peindre toutes les fleurs chacune au naturel sur du velin et, dans les pages suivantes, tous les madrigaux qui estoient sur la mesme fleur. Avant cela, il y avoit un Zéphire qui répandoit des fleurs, et la première feuille estoit une guirlande composée de toutes ces fleurs ensemble avec le tiltre précédent; les vers estoient escrits aussy sur du velin, d'un (*sic*) escriture qui imitoit ou pour mieux dire qui surpassoit de beaucoup impression. C'estoit un nommé Jarry qui les avoit escrits. Tout cela estoit relié et faisoit un petit in-folio. Ce présent fut fait deux ou trois ans avant qu'il l'espousast.' On the second folio begins the list of the flowers composing the garland. Discussing the correspondence between the MSS., the writer examines the Madrigals—one, that on *la Flambe*, being here omitted—and points out the MS. corrections, *e.g.* those on *Le Pavot* which stand thus :—

LE PAVOT

Madrigal

'Accordez moi le privilege
D'approcher de ce front de neige
Vous Savez quel secours on tire des pavots :
A vos yeux adorez sur la terre & sur l'onde
Je sçauray donner le repos
Qu'ils dérobent à tout le monde.'

It may be interesting to know that in this corrected transcript, the four lines in italics are written over the original copy which stood thus: (not given by M. d'Estrées.)

'Et si je suis placé comme il est à propos,
Auprès de ses soleils que le soleil seconde
Je leur donneray le repos
Qu'ils dérobent à tout le monde.'

Mr. DE SCVDERY.

For the rest, to avoid further temptation to digress, I must refer the reader to M. d'Estrées' article. The MS. 19145, though containing certain pieces similar to those of the *Guirlande*, is not a copy of it. M. Delisle knows of only one copy in the *National Library*, and that is 19142.

JOHN W. BRADLEY.

THE MAINZ PSALTER OF 1457

THE importance of the Mainz Psalter of 1457 depends largely on the unique position it occupies in the history of printing, as the first book which has the advantage of possessing a clear statement of the printers' names, the place, and date of printing. The last leaf has the following words, printed in red on the second side:

> Pñs ſpalmor [*sic!*] codex venuſtate capitaliū decoŏat?
> Rubricationibuſq, ſufficienter diſtinctus,
> Adinuētione artificōſa impmendi ac caracterizandi ,
> abſq, calami vlla exarcōne ſic effigiatus, Et ad euſe-
> biam dei induſtrie eſt pſummatus, Per Iohem fuſt
> Ciuē magūtinū , Et Petrū, Schoffer de Gernſheim,
> Anno dñi Milleſīo cccc lvij. In vigl'ia Aſſūpcōis,

It is printed throughout in Missal letters of two sizes, the text of the Psalms, Canticles, Creed, etc., being in the larger type with 20 lines to the page, and the directions, prayers, and liturgical matter in smaller type with 24. The initials of each verse, as well as whole sentences of liturgical matter, including 'Gloria patri,' 'Psalmus,' etc., and the colophon quoted above are in red. The initial letters of each psalm are more elaborately executed in various colours and three sizes, all larger than the initials of the verses.

Of the few extant copies of this book some have (or had when perfect) 175 leaves, while others have only 143. The colophon, which in all cases marks

the conclusion, occurs in the former on fol. 175 verso, and in the latter on fol. 143 verso; it is identical in all. In the 175-leaved edition, fol. 143 verso is blank; which suggests the explanation that the book was originally printed at the same time in both forms, the colophon in the larger edition being purposely omitted from fol. 143 because it would more properly come at the end of all. The whole Psalter is contained in the 143 leaves; and the leaves 144-175 of the larger edition commence with 'Vigiliae mortuorum,' and contain prayers, hymns, etc., for the various days and hours according to the use of some diocese. That this was the see of Mainz is probable from the fact that the book was printed there by citizens of that city; and is rendered nearly certain from the identity of the contents of these leaves with the corresponding portion of the Mainz Breviary. Moreover, by omitting these leaves from other copies, the printers rendered the Psalter available for other sees where a different use prevailed. This conclusion may be fortified by another consideration. Even the 143 leaves are not a simple edition of the Book of Psalms. They contain the 150 Psalms, arranged not as in the Bible, but in the order in which they were used for chanting on the various days and hours, and interspersed with Canticles from all parts of the Bible, viz. the Song of the three children (Apocryphal Daniel), Benedictus (Luke i. 68-79), Isa. xii., xxxviii. 10-20, 1 Sam. ii. 1-10, Ex. xv. 1-19, Hab. iii. 2-19, Deut. xxxii. 1-43, Magnificat (Luke i. 46-53), Nunc dimittis (Luke ii. 29-32), Te Deum, several hymns, doxologies, and prayers, and the Athanasian Creed. It might, in fact, more properly be regarded as the Psalms belonging to a Breviary, especially as staves for music are printed.

in which the notes for chanting are written by hand in some copies. Blank spaces are left by the printer between the psalms, for the insertion of the other matter which was likely to differ in the uses of different dioceses. This, as well as the above-mentioned additional leaves, shows that the book was planned with a view to its being used in various dioceses. To the same object we may also refer its general title 'Psalmorum Codex,' without specification of any diocese.

Nine copies are known to exist at the present day. They are the following:—

1 (called here W). In her Majesty's library in Windsor Castle. This belonged to the Ursuline Convent at Hildesheim, afterwards to Councillor Duve, then to the University of Göttingen, which presented it to the King of Hanover and England. It is very clean and almost devoid of corrections. It is of the 143-leaved issue. It wants ff. 137-141.

2. (G) British Museum, in the Grenville Library. It belonged formerly to Count Weissenburg, and afterwards to Mr. Grenville. It is of the 143-leaved issue. It has been cleaned and washed, and the letters that were damaged by this process painted over in black, so as frequently to change them into other letters; and it is largely corrected by the help of Lord Spencer's copy. It wants ff. 28, 137-143.

3. (V) Vienna Imperial Library. This is the only perfect copy of the 175-leaved issue. It is printed on beautiful white vellum, with exceptionally wide margins, and, from having never been used in a church, is preserved very clean and free from erasions and corrections. It is the only copy that has the escutcheons of Fust and Schoiffer printed under the colophon. The statement of Van Praet ('Catalogue des livres imprimés sur velin de

la Bibliothèque du Roi,' tome I. p. 207),—'Ayant appartenu à Mathias Corvin roi d'Hongrie [crowned in 1458] il n'a pas, comme tous les autres [he appears not to know the Windsor copy], servi à l'office divin. Lambecius ("Comm. de Bibl. Cæsar. Vind.", in fol. tome II. p. 744 et 989) le découvrit en 1665 dans le château d'Ambas [Ambras] près d'Inspruck,'—has been often repeated by bibliographers, but is entirely erroneous. Lambecius says at p. 989, 'Quod ad . . . 1489 selecta volumina (4) impressa, eodem tempore ex Archiducali Arce Ambrasiana in . . . Augustissimam Bibliothecam [of Vienna] translata, attinet, eorum quoque catalogus . . . a me publicabitur.' The figure (4) here refers to the note in the side-margin, which gives a transcript of the colophon of this Psalter: (4) 'Reperi inter ea unum impressum in membrana, in cujus fine de origine artis typographicæ hoc legitur notabile testimonium: Præsens Psalmorum codex, etc.' Having been in the library of the Archduke Ferdinand at Schloss Ambras, in Tyrol, it had never belonged to the kings of Hungary, nor been in that country at all. The error is due to the fact that this note runs down the margin of the whole of the page, and so is partly opposite the next chapter, in which Lambecius speaks of his journey to Buda to examine the library of Corvinus there. The ornamentation of this copy is especially fine.

4. (B) Berlin, at the University Library. It was formerly at Stuttgart. It is of the 175-leaved issue. It wants fol. 34.

5. (D) Darmstadt. This is of the 143-leaved issue. It wants ff. 28 and 137-144.

6. (Δ) Royal Library, Dresden. It is of the 175-leaved issue. Very imperfect; wanting ff.

26, 41-50, 54, 65, 66, 72-79, 104, 105, 111-113, 120, 137-141, 144-154, 166-174.

7. (Pa) Paris, in the Bibliothèque du Roi, now Bib. Nationale. This is of the 175-leaved issue. It wants ff. 167-172.

8. (Pb) Paris, in the same library as the last. It is of the 143-leaved issue. It is nearly perfect, wanting only the last leaf, fol. 143.

9. (S) The copy which till lately was in Earl Spencer's library at Althorpe, but was acquired in 1892 with the rest of the library by Mrs. John Rylands of Manchester. This copy previously belonged to the Praemonstratensian Monastery at Roth, near Memmingen. It is of the 143-leaved issue, of which it is the only known perfect copy. It is much corrected by hand, chiefly to make it agree with the emended text of the Vulgate as settled in 1590.

Besides these, three copies are mentioned, but are apparently now lost, belonging respectively to the Cathedral of Mainz, to the extinct University of Mainz, and to Count Zaluski.

It was known that, although this book is generally spoken of as *The* Mainz Psalter of 1457, differences occur in the set-up of the types, which might be so serious and so frequent as to necessitate the acknowledgment of more than one edition printed in that year. To settle this point, a collation of all the known copies was required. A commencement of this work was made by me some years ago, when the three British copies (Nos. 1, 2, and 9) were lodged side by side in the British Museum. The immediate result fully justified the experiment. It showed (1) that of 136 leaves or 272 pages minutely compared, 154 pages are absolutely identical in all these copies, thereby proving that we have as yet no

evidence of the Psalter having been set up afresh as a whole; (2) that the first page differs in all the three; (3) that the rest of the book gives evidence of two editions, but never of more; (4) that from examining the characteristics of each edition, we find W to be throughout of the same, S (on all pages where differences occur) of the other, except a few leaves from the first; and G to be a still more made-up copy, following now one edition, now the other.

Having thus discovered two editions, we have to look into the characteristics of each, and so determine, if possible, which is the earlier. The most obvious, if not the safest, criterion is the correctness of the text. A later compositor seeks to correct the misprints of the earlier. Where we have to do with reprints of single pages, a few errors may have been sufficient reason for breaking up the types and resetting them before many copies had been printed. But a new compositor is as liable to make errors of the press as the original one; and we may find that the latter introduces new errors of his own, though these are not likely to be so numerous. In counting misprints, I do not reckon any modes of spelling which were considered legitimate in that age, though now condemned. The actual misprints are as follows:

In	WG	fol.	11*a*	is wrong,	S right.
,,	S	,,	11*b*	,,	WG ,,
,,	WG	,,	14*b*	,,	S ,,
,,	WG	,,	15*a*	,,	S ,,
,,	WG	,,	16*a*	,,	S ,,
,,	WG	,,	17*a*	,,	S ,,
,,	WG	,,	19*a*	,,	S ,,
,,	S	,,	21*a*	,,	WG ,,
,,	WG	,,	21*b*	,,	S ,,

In	WG	fol.	22*b* (two)	is wrong,	S right.
,,	WG	,,	28*b* (two)	,,	S ,,
,,	WG	,,	32*b*	,,	S ,,
,,	WG	,,	35*a*	,,	S ,,
,,	W	,,	41*a*	,,	SG ,,
,,	W	,,	104*a*	,,	SG ,,
,,	WS	,,	129*b*	,,	G ,,
,,	G	,,	129*b*	,,	WS ,,
,,	WS	,,	135*b*	,,	G ,,

In other words: where there is a discrepancy, and one or more has the right text,

W is wrong in 19 cases, right in 3.
S is wrong in 4 cases, right in 18.
G is wrong in 16 cases, right in 6.

In a large majority of cases, therefore, W is the most wrong, and S right in nearly the same proportion. It is consequently probable that W is the original edition. We may then go further, and detect in S the influence of a practical Latin scholar in correcting the orthography. Thus we find in W *obprobrium*, SG *opprobrium* (fol. 120); WG *tamquam*, S *tanquam* (fol. 11*b*, etc.); W always *exurge*, S *exsurge*. At the time when this book was printed, the spelling of verbal derivatives varied between *-atio* and *-acio*; W has generally *t*, and S *c*. It must also be recorded that, while W has a consistent orthography on every page, S and G are not consistent throughout: S, showing generally a corrected text, has on ff. 125-136 (beyond which we have no means of collation) the older text; while G, which has the older text up to fol. 40, has on ff. 115-136 the later. We will, therefore, for brevity's sake, call the Windsor text (1), and the S text (2).

We may try to find a distinction between these two texts in the use of the comma, or rather a sign resembling the ancient Gothic comma, here used chiefly as a full stop at the end of the verses; (2) uses the comma very freely in this manner; (1) sometimes, but much less frequently. In my collation I noted only the 90 pages (89 in the case of G owing to its wanting fol. 28) where differences occur; the following list therefore contains only the record of such differences:—

W uses no comma (or very few) on the following

87 pages: fol. 1*b*, 2, 3*b*, 5, 6*b*, 9-11, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19*a*, 20*a*-27*a*, 30, 31, 32*b*, 33*b*, 34*b*-36*a*, 38*a*, 40*a*, 115*a*, 116, 117, 118*b*-122*a*, 123-125, 126*b*-130*a*, 131-135, 136*b*.

W uses the comma on the following three pages: fol. 28*a*, 33*a*, 56*a*.

S uses no comma (or very few) on the following 26 pages: fol. 3*b*, 28*a*, 33*a*, 34*b*, 56*a*, 125, 126*b*-130*a*, 131-135, 136*b*.

S uses the comma on the following 64 pages: fol. 1*b*, 2, 5, 6*b*, 9-11, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19*a*, 20*a*-27*a*, 30, 31, 32*b*, 33*b*, 35, 36*a*, 38*a*, 40*a*, 115*a*, 116, 117, 118*b*-122*a*, 123-124.

G uses no comma (or very few) on the following 48 pages: fol. 2, 3*b*, 5, 6*b*, 9-11, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19*a*, 20*a*-27*a*, 30, 31, 32*b*, 33*b*, 35, 36*a*, 38*a*, 40*a*, 56*a*.

G uses the comma on the following 41 pages: fol. 1*b*, 33*a*, 34*b*, 115*a*, 116, 117, 118*b*-122*a*, 123-125, 126*b*-130*a*, 131-135, 136*b*.

But as we decided on the evidence of collation that there is an earlier edition (1), of which W is the typical example, and a later one (2) of which S is one example (except ff. 125-136 which are of (1), and G another, having ff. 2-40 of (1) and ff. 1*b*, 41, 115-136 of (2)), we ought to modify the above table so far as S and G are concerned. It will then stand thus:

S of edition (2), *i.e.* all except ff. 125-136, uses no comma on 4 pages, and uses it on 64.

S of edition (1), *i.e.* ff. 125-136, uses no comma on 20 pages, and has it on 3.

G of edition (1), *i.e.* ff. 2-40, uses no comma on 47 pages, but uses it on 2.

G of edition (2), *i.e.* ff. 1*b*, 41, 115-136, is never without the comma, but uses it on 38 pages.

Thus the use of the comma is a criterion which

goes very far to corroborate the conclusion previously established by the collation: Where there is any difference of punctuation, edition (1) [W, with portions of S and G] has no comma: and edition (2) [the chief portion of S, and a minor portion of G] has the comma, with quite insignificant exceptions. This may be exemplified by quotations from the various parts of the book, which show the position occupied by the other copies not yet classified.

Fol. 1*b* line 2: SGD ĩania, WVBPabΔ without comma
11: SGD te, WVBPabΔ without comma
2*a* line 10: SD d's meus, WVBPabG [Δ wants this leaf] deus me⁹
115*a* line 2: SGD meis, WVBΔ without comma
33*a* line 14: S meo WVBPabΔG meo,
41*a* line 9: SGDVB intellectus, W[Δ wants this leaf] without comma
125*b* line 8: SDWVBPabΔ eis G with comma

No complete collation of the continental with the British copies was possible, as that would require the presence of all on one table—an impracticable condition in the case of a book of such exceptional value. I had, as above stated, made a full list of the variants of three British copies *inter se*; a collation of other copies with this list would show which British copy each of the others resembled in the differing lines, and presumably in other parts also. Moreover, through the liberality of the librarians of Berlin and Dresden, the copies under their charge were transmitted to the library at Vienna, where I thus had again the advantage of noting the variants of three copies side by side. But those at Paris and Darmstadt had to be examined in their respective libraries; and of course they may contain variants from all the others which I had no means of discovering. And the leaves in which I found variants in the three British copies

are only 59 out of 143. Eight leaves were not available for comparison, and these and the remaining 76 leaves may present variants in some continental copies, though not in VBΔ which were collated together. We can now group all the known copies (as previously all the British copies) in two editions; W still retaining marks of the earlier, thus:

FIRST EDITION.

W. Except ff. 77, 100, 125-136, which are of the second.
Pa. Except ff. 56, 104, 124-27, which are of the second.
Pb. Except ff. 56, 100, which are of the second.
V. Except ff. 41, 56, 77, 124-34, 136, which are of the second.
B. Except ff. 41, 56, 101, 104, 124-134, 136, which are of the second.
Δ Except ff. 3, 4, 7, 8, 56, 124-134, 136, which are of the second.
G. Except ff. 41, 56, 104, 115, 116, 135, which are of the second.

SECOND EDITION.

D. Except f. 100, which is of the first.
S. Except ff. 7, 8, 100, which are of the first.

It is important to notice that leaves 1-40 conform almost without exception to the theory of two editions, ff. 3, 4, 7, 8 of Δ and 7, 8 of S being the only leaves in that portion which appear to have been taken from a different edition. Moreover the other leaves which present anomalies are mostly the same. It would seem as if in making up copies for sale, when both editions had been printed, the binder was not careful to keep each edition separate, and had a larger supply of the later leaves. This would account for the surprising number of copies of the second edition of ff. 56, 124-134.

This seems the proper place to note the gatherings of sheets as I have observed them in VBΔ (175 leaves) and G (143 leaves). The evidence of G is particularly strong, as the book was unstitched to

be rebound, whereby the gatherings were exposed to view. The result is as follows:

ff.	1-10	10 leaves	61-70	10 leaves	115-124	10 leaves	
	11-20	„	71-80	„	125-134	„	
	21-30	„	81-90	„	135-143	9 leaves	(*b*)
	31-40	„	91-100	„	144-154	11 „	(*c*)
	41-50	„	101-108	8 leaves	155-164	10 „	
	51-60	„	109-114	6 leaves (*a*)	165-175	11 „	(*d*)

(*a*) This forms the end of vol i. for the 175-leaved copies, which are too thick to be conveniently bound in one volume; and for this purpose the final 14 leaves are disposed in gatherings of 8 and 6.

(*b*) This odd number is obtained by grouping the leaves thus ('=' denotes the other portion of the same leaf): 135=143; 136=142; 137=140; 138=139. So that fol. 141 is inserted as a single leaf; yet nothing is lost.

(*c*) 145=154; 146=153; 147=152; 148=151; 149=150; leaving fol. 144 a single leaf.

(*d*) 165=175; 166=173; 167=172; 168=171; 169=170; leaving fol. 174 a single leaf.

Of the discrepancies on the first page a good deal might be said. It is interesting to find the first printers trying several experiments on this leaf, the most important one for showing at a glance the beauty that could be produced by the new art; for no title-page preceded it. The existing copies here diverge more than usual. There are two distinct editions, differing in the initial words of every line; another whose first twelve lines differ in the same degree; and smaller differences of spelling in most of the remaining copies. This page is so typical and important that I think it worth while to give its variants in full. The

initial B is the largest and most elaborate work of the kind in the volume.

W

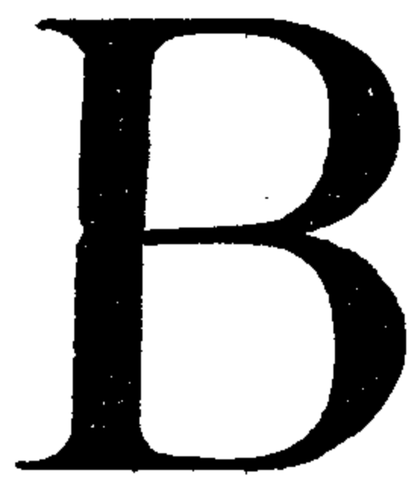
5 BEatus vir q̇ non abijt
6 in conſilio impiorū: ⁊t
7 in via pc̄oꝝ nō ſtetit:
8 ⁊t ī cathedra peſtilētie nō
9 ſedit Sed in lege dñi
10 volūtas eiꝰ: et in lege
11 eius meditabitᶻ die ac nocte Et eit tanq̈
12 lignū qđ plātatū eſt ſecus d̨ecurſus aq̈ꝝ:
13 qđ fructū ſuū d̨abit ī tp̨e ſuo Et foliū eiꝰ
14 nō d̨efluet: et oīa q̄cūq; faciet p̨ſp̨erabūtur
15 Non ſic impij non ſic: ſed tanq̈ puluis
16 quē proicit v̨entus a facie tr̄e Ideo nō re-
17 ſurgūt impij ī indicio: neq; pc̄ores in ꝯſi-
18 lio iuſtoꝝ. Quoniā nouit dñs uiā iuſto-
19 rum: et iter impioꝝ p̨eribit. Gl'ia P̄dd'

SD

5 BEatus vir qui non
6 abijt in ꝯſilio impioꝝ
7 et in via peccatorū non
8 ſtetit: ⁊t in cathedra peſti-
9 lentie non ſedit. Sed
10 in lege d̨omini volūtas
11 eius: ⁊t in lege eius meditabitur die ac no-
12 cte, Et erit tanq̈, lignū quod plātatū eſt
13 ſecus d̨ecurſus aq̃ꝝ: qđ fructū ſuū dabit in
14 tp̨e ſuo Et foliū eiꝰ nō d̨efluet: ⁊t oīa q̄cūq;
15 faciet p̨ſp̨erabūtᶻ, Nō ſic impij nō ſic: ſed
16 tanq; puluis quē p̨icit v̨entus a facie terre,
17 Ideo non reſurgūt impij in iudic̨io: neq;
11 pc̄ores in cōſilio iuſtoꝝ, Q̄m nouit dñs
19 viā iuſtoꝝ: ⁊t iter impioꝝ p̨eribit, Gli'a P̄

PabBV∆ are all identical with SD in lines 13-19, except the following variants: line 13 fec⁹ for ſecus; 15 pſperabūt² without comma; 16 ventus for ventus, and tre for terre; 18 ꝑſilio for cōſilio; 19 peribit without comma. G has a different arrangement of lines 5-12, after which it agrees accurately with SD:

G



Beatus vir qui non abijt in Evovae conſilio impiorū et in via pc̄coꝝ nō ſtetit: t̃ in cathedra peſtilēcie nō ſedit, Sed ī lege dñi voluntas ei⁹: et in lege eius meditabit² die ac nocte, Et erit tanq̄ lignū qđ plātatū eſt¹

PabBV∆ have the following variants in this portion of the page: line 5 B∆ q̇ for qui; V∆ no stave for music, which B and G have; 6 B∆ nō for non; E (of Evovae) printed in B∆, not in V; 8 PabBV∆ ī for in; 9 PabBV∆ cathedra peſtilētie for cathedra peſtilēcie; 10 PabBV∆ no comma at dit; 12 PabBV∆ nocte without comma.

Page 1 therefore shows us 1) W (first edition, without comma) 2) SD (second edition, with comma) 3) G identical with 2) in lines 13-19, but distinct from 1) and 2) in lines 1-12. The remaining copies PabBV∆ have the page arranged like SD, lines 5-10 being sometimes like G; exhibiting the few variants just mentioned.

The mode of printing *Red Letters*, adopted by the early printers, and the prior question whether

[1] Altered by hand to *iste*.

[illegible] post festū trinitatis · Inuitatorium,

Regē magnū dn̄m venite adoremus, p̄s Venite ·
[illegible] diebus post festū ephie Inuitatoriū ·

Adoremꝰ dn̄m qui fecit nos, P̄s venite aū Seruite ·

Beatus vir qui non abijt in Euouae consilio impiorū et in via pccōꝝ nō stetit: ⁊ in cathedra pestilēcie nō sedit, Sed ī lege dn̄i voluntas eiꝰ: et in lege eius meditabit̄ die ac nocte, Et erit tanq̄ lignū qd̄ plātatū iste secus decursus aq̄ꝝ: qd̄ fructū suū dabit in tpe suo Et foliū eiꝰ nō defluet: ⁊ oīa q̄cūq̄ faciet ꝓsperabūt̄, Nō sic impij nō sic sed tanq̄ puluis quē ꝓicit ventus a facie terre, Ideo non resurgi t impij in iudicio: neq̄ pccōres in cōsilio iustoꝝ Qm̄ nouit dn̄s viā iustoꝝ: ⁊ iter impioꝝ peribit, Gl̄ia P

they are printed at all, may perhaps have some light thrown upon it by these books. Here the initial letter of every verse is red, and of a more ornamental style than the ordinary missal type which follows. There are much larger initials at the beginnings of the several collections of psalms; the most elaborate being the great B at the beginning of Ps. i. (Beatus), which covers the space of six lines. Besides the initials, there are whole words and lines printed in red, especially the rubrics (see fol. 1a. lin. 1 and 3) and the colophon. These last are obviously printed; and the only doubtful point as to cases like those on fol. 1a. seems to be, whether the red was printed from types contained in the same frame as the black letters above and below, and at the same time, or in a different way. No instance of any of these red lines or words having slipped out of its exact place seems to have been found; yet this must almost inevitably happen in some cases when red and black are printed separately; indeed countless cases of this overlapping are found in the carelessly printed mixed red and black title-pages of the sixteenth and later centuries. It therefore appears probable that the types for both black and red letters were set in the same frame, and that their respective inks were carefully dabbed upon each line, so that neither ran beyond its proper place.

The problem of the initials is different. It would, no doubt, be possible, by lifting up the type, to cover it with red ink without letting the colour run to the other letters close by; but it would be very troublesome, and seems almost incredible when the number of such initials (one for every verse) is considered. Yet the initials are clearly not written, but impressed. The absolute identity of each letter

with the same in another place sufficiently proves this, and the impress made on the paper also shows it. There is, however, a mode of impression which might well be used in a case like this, where a single large letter had to be covered with an ink of peculiar colour and stamped on a small blank square. Let the page have been printed in black, with blanks left for the red letters. Then these might be produced, not by the printing-press, but by a punch with its head covered with red paint and held in the hand. There are facts which seem to be explicable on this theory better than on any other, if indeed they can properly be otherwise explained at all. The initial M of Miserere, fol. 5b. 1, Ps. ix. 14, is produced by the same type or punch in W and G, which copies are identical in this part of the book; yet while in G the letter is correct, in W it is inverted. How easily might a punch be taken wrong-way-upwards, and an error be thus perpetrated in one copy, which was not likely to be repeated in others! Other errors in the initials are best explained in this way. In fol. 6a. l. 4 G and S have the correct reading Auferunt^{z}, where W has Inferunt^{z}. So at fol. 37a., l. 5, while SG have rightly Dum, W has Cum. At fol. 54a. l. 19 (Ps. xlv. 15), WS Afferunt^{z}, G Offerunt^{z}, either of which makes sense; but Afferuntur is the accepted reading. It is also evident that the initials were not, at least not always, printed with the rest of the text, as different forms of the same letter occur in different copies; *e.g.* fol. 76b. l. 17, where G has *h* in the form ℏ, WS in this ℏ. The large initials, such as the great B on fol. 1, differ from all the smaller in being set in a field of beautiful filigree work of paler colour, generally bluish when the letter is red, and *vice versa*; though sometimes both are red. Both the

letter and the filigree are obviously printed, for which purpose two punches would be used, the second after the paint of the first was dry. The colour of the great initials is sometimes red and sometimes blue or violet, therein differing from the small ones even on the same page, which are regularly red.

The leaves 137-175, as they exist in the 175-leaved copies VBΔPa are found to be mainly identical, with only a few discrepancies, especially in initials.

Finally, it must be noted by bibliographers who consult any of these copies, that great damage has been done by hand to several by correcting either misprints or readings altered at the recensions of 1590 or 1592. Such erasures are often so skilfully made by scratching as to escape detection, or to look like new printed readings, till compared with an uncorrected copy. The cleanest and least corrected copies are WV; the most altered and spoiled GSΔ. The others are fairly good.

The plate which accompanies this article shows the first page of the Psalter, and is taken from the Grenville copy in the British Museum.

RUSSELL MARTINEAU.

EARLY DEDICATIONS TO ENGLISHMEN BY FOREIGN AUTHORS AND EDITORS

DEDICATIONS of foreign books to Englishmen may be regarded as possessing some special interest under several different aspects. One is, the evidence they afford of the universal appreciation of the results of the revival of letters on the Continent; another, the testimony they give to the esteem in which English students and scholars were held for their learning; and a third, the incidental illustrations sometimes offered of personal character and history. The number of these dedications proves on examination to be larger than perhaps many would at first suppose. And in describing a few examples, I am fully aware that I may be far from noticing all the instances which may be found within the limited period to which at present I confine myself, from the middle of the fifteenth to the middle of the sixteenth centuries.[1] For the next half century such dedications are numerous, and I hope to give some account of them in a second article.

It is with HUMPHREY, DUKE OF GLOUCESTER, that foreign knowledge of English fosterers of general literature seems to have begun. In his

[1] An earlier instance than those here noticed was once to be found in the pre-Reformation library of the University of Oxford. To Nicholas Bubwith, bishop of Bath and Wells, and Robert Hallum, or Halam, bishop of Salisbury, who attended the Council of Constance as English delegates (the latter dying there in 1417), John de Seravola, bishop of Fermo, inscribed certain commentaries upon Dante. But this MS. is not known now to be in existence.

love for books (his 'worldly good' as he was wont to call them), and in his desire to encourage study by making his collections accessible at Oxford to scholars in general, he soon became known as a patron of learning, and specially of the learning of the new school. Had not his rich gatherings been so miserably wasted and destroyed as they subsequently were, we should have doubtless found frequent evidences of the way in which his approval was courted by strangers who knew that that approval would be a passport for public notice. But even in spite of that destruction sufficient proof remains.

One of the books he gave to Oxford is now in the British Museum as Harleian MS., 1705. It is the *Nova traductio totius politiæ Platonicæ*, by Peter Candidus December, an Italian, Master of the Briefs to Pope Nicholas v. To the whole work, and to each of the first four books, he prefixes a dedicatory epistle to the duke, who on the reverse of the last leaf writes this inscription: 'Cest livre est de moy Homfrey duc de Gloucestre, du doñ P. Candidus December, secretaire du duc de Mylan.' Candidus begins his general preface by saying that the fame of the duke's virtue is so diffused among all Italians that all the learned men, though his face is unknown to them, know his excellence by common report. Amongst these the bishop of Bayeux [Zano de Castiglione who died in 1459], alike learned and kind and charitable, was a special encomiast and admirer of the duke, and frequently enlarged upon the encouragement given by him to learned men. So when Candidus heard that Aretinus had dedicated his translation of Aristotle's Politics to the Pope, instead of to the duke, as he had undertaken to do, he resolved that

he with no lesser gift would adorn that name, which of itself was so illustrious. For the duke will confess that he has never seen or read anything more excellent, more useful, more noble, than the Politics of Plato, the most famous philosopher of all. He therefore begs for a reply by letter notifying whether the duke will sanction the doing this, a work which Candidus thinks will redound to the duke's everlasting praise.

There is then subjoined a copy of Humphrey's answer which is sufficiently complimentary, willingly accepting Candidus' offer, and urging him to finish his work speedily. He rejoices in the fact that there are now amongst the Italians so many distinguished scholars in both Greek and Latin literature, for whose praise he knows not what can be imagined equal to their deserts; not only have they restored the old style of Latin speech and elegance of diction which had altogether been lost, but also have brought again to light the Greek philosophers, with their rules for good living, who had been quite wiped out of knowledge. He will welcome any thing new that Candidus or any one else can show him, and assures him of his constant affection.

This is followed by a second letter from the duke, expressing the surprise he had felt, after so heartily welcoming the offer of the dedication, to find, on receiving the translation of the fifth book of the treatise from the archbishop of Milan, that it did not bear his name. But he concludes this was because it is only a portion and not the complete book. He urges Candidus to complete it, and desires to receive the whole, and will endeavour to give Candidus reason to rejoice that he sought his friendship.

To this Candidus returns an answer of extreme delight, but part of this is lost, one leaf being wanting in the MS. He can imagine while he reads the duke's letter that he sees his living face, his grace, his kindness, his dignity. Thank God for giving to the world, and to this generation, a prince who is such an example of virtue! The fifth book was the first that he finished, and hence its dedication to Giovanni Amadeo, a lawyer of Milan.

Then to the first book he prefixes a long but interesting preface, addressed to Humphrey, in which he narrates how he came to study Plato. It was thus. Emanuel Chrysoloras, a Greek, came to Italy, acquainted not only with the literature of his own country, but with all useful studies, and seemed so to impart to others the power of his own mind, that not only the present generation but those to come, as well as the memorials of the past, seem to owe him thanks. That which was obscured by age and ignorance received light from him. Aretine, Guarin of Verona, and many others were taught by him. With Candidus' father, Ubertus, he became on special terms of intimacy as a daily associate. He lived at that time chiefly at Ticino, giving himself up to a studious and sedentary life, and then as a relaxation undertook to translate this treatise of Plato; but grace of style failed him who was so strong in learning. The father of Candidus then attempted to render his translation more elegant, but was obliged by the unhappiness of the times to abandon the task. So at last Candidus himself took it up, and determined to present his work to the duke. There is nothing so well written by the Greeks, or by our own writers, that it is not surpassed by the elegance of these books of Plato.

To the second, third, and fourth books laudatory prefaces are also prefixed. That to the fifth book bears this heading, which unites the original inscription noticed by the duke in his second letter with a reference to the later: 'P. Candidi Decembris oratoris in libro Politie Platonis 5to in laudem illustrissimi et litteratissimi principis domini ducis Gloucestrensis prologus incipit feliciter, ad eruditissimum iurisconsultum Johannem Amadeum civem Mediolanensem traduccio prima.'[1] Books vi.-x. have only very short summaries of their contents.

A second dedication to Humphrey is of that translation of Aristotle's Politics by Leonardo Bruni of Arezzo (hence called Aretinus), of which in its final published form he was, as Candidus says, 'defrauded,' but which exists in two MSS. in the Bodleian Library, one (Auct. F. v. 27) being the copy sent to the duke. Bruni says that he had made the translation at Humphrey's urgent and repeated request, who had feared that Bruni would not fulfil the promise he had made, but would only send words instead of performance, a thing altogether foreign to his character.

The whole of this dedication (which the translator, notwithstanding his protestations, appears to have withdrawn from the copies circulated abroad, to make way for one which seemed to promise more immediate reward in the way of promotion) was printed by Prof. H. W. Chandler in 1868 at the end of his *Catalogue of editions of*

[1] Of another original copy of Candidus' book there is a small fragment in the library of Magdalen College, Oxford, exhibiting this heading to book v., which shows how the book itself must have been one of those which were regarded as waste-paper. On the cover of MS. 182, a book given to the College by one who was a fellow in the middle of the sixteenth century, is pasted one leaf with the ending of book iv. and the beginning of book v.

Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics printed in the fifteenth century,[1] Mr. Chandler points out (p. 4) that Leland had a copy of it, as appears from a passage quoted from his book *De Brit. Scriptt.*, although he speaks of the *Ethics* as being the book translated, instead of the *Politics*.* The translation had been transmitted to, and received by, the duke before the dedicatory letter was written.

A third dedication to the same patron of literature is found prefixed to a translation of Plutarch's Life of Marius by one 'Antonius Pacinus' in MS. 37 in the library of Magdalen College, Oxford. He too sought the duke's favour from hearing his praises from the same bishop of Bayeux, who extolled him, Pacinus says, to the stars, equalling him to the most famous heroes of antiquity, recounting his victories by land and sea, but, above all, telling how he subdued all men to himself by his incredible kindness and liberality; in the midst of the highest affairs all his spare time is devoted to study of learning, of good life, and of good speech. The tone of flattery which runs through the whole dedication may possibly find some justification in the fact that Humphrey afforded almost a solitary instance at the time in England of a nobleman engaged both in war and politics and yet himself a student and a lover of learning and learned men. There was but Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, to rival him. To him, who was well known abroad for his scholarly tastes, there were very probably some books presented by foreigners, but none have as yet come within my knowledge.

[1] Of this volume only twenty-five copies were printed; of which I possess No. 10 by the gift of a late old friend and colleague in the Bodleian Library, the Rev. A. Hackman.

This MS. is bound up (in late sixteenth century binding) with a translation of Ptolemy's *Cosmographia* by Jac. Angelus, which is dedicated to Pope Alexander V. The second leaf of the text of this begins with the words 'in tota,' and these words are said in Anstey's *Munim. Acad.* II. 771 (with the misprint '*toto*') to be the catchwords at the commencement of the second leaf of a copy of the Cosmography sent by the duke to Oxford. It is therefore quite possible that these two books both came from the old University Library (although Pacinus' translation is not mentioned in the lists of Humphrey's gifts), and were bound together subsequently. An inscription at the end of Pacinus' tract has been so carefully obliterated that all endeavours to bring it to light have failed; it occupied two and a half lines, and all that can be conjectured is that it began with the words generally found in the duke's books 'Cest livre,' and ended with the figures of a date. The Ptolemy was at some time in the fifteenth century 'Liber magistri Johannis Mansonis.'

HENRY VII.—Among the Selden MSS. in the Bodleian Library, *supra*, 77, is a curious little treatise by one Gulielmus Parronus of Piacenza, *De astrorum vi fatali hominum, et particulariter cujusdam nati, ac adversus detestantes astrologiam judicialem.* The book is addressed to Henry VII., 'illustrissimum ac omni genere prestantissimum atque fortunatissimum,' and his nativity appears to be the one particularly referred to. The opponent of astrology specially dealt with is Picus of Mirandula. The MS. is evidently the presentation copy to the king, being very neatly written (on 52 small quarto leaves of vellum), with an illuminated border round

the first page, and an initial representing the king sitting in the midst of his lords. One of the Earls of Arundel was a subsequent owner of the book. The author says that he had spent many nights stolen from sleep in the study of his subject, and had turned over many books of chronicles and the writings of moral and natural philosophers in tracing the influence of the stars upon sublunary affairs. He invents a word for the title of his book (which he dates on the ides of October without mentioning the year), calling it 'Salutacium, *si Latinum est*, delectabile, ex diversis, non herbis sed verbis et sententiis, colectum.' The king is said to possess in full the six specially regal virtues, viz.: wisdom, prudence, justice, fortitude, temperance, and clemency. The writer had showed three years ago, 'in pronosticis meis' from the king's nativity, how these virtues were innate in him; and it was manifest how almost from his infancy 'ille splendidissimus ac potentissimus triumphalis rex Eduardus' feared that he would come some day to the crown of England, as came to pass when the particular time of the stars of his geniture arrived, and the great conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter, signifying the change of some kings, which occurred eight months and twenty-seven days 'ante exaltationem regalis tuæ majestatis.' And this, though it seemed impossible to human reason, was known by the science of the stars. But as to the future still lying before the king, Parronus very prudently refrains from speculating; he says, 'hic inde de tua serenissima majestate non est locus scribendi quid futurum sit.' As an example of one warned by him of an evil end, he mentions Edward Franche, who was taken in the battle of Lincoln (Stamford, 1470?), imprisoned in the Tower, released,

and lived for three years at liberty, but at length 'venit ad actum publicum, ubi amisit caput suum,' and then he remembered Parronus' judgment about him, as about many others, by the true science of chiromancy. A contrary case is that of William Aschele, born at Calais, who, Parronus had declared, would not die by an evil death; he has been thrice imprisoned for treason, thrice dangerously wounded, and lately in the street at Bruges was knocked down and wounded and left for dead; and yet he lives, and infallibly will die in his bed. Others again who are innocent, even infants, suffer and perish, by the law of the stars, such as those most innocent children of King Edward, whose destruction was known by a dream about a white rose and the sun and moon turning pale, and two arrows of lightning falling into the middle of the Thames, on the fourth day, a quarter of an hour before midnight, after the birth of Edward's second son Richard. And this Parronus found written in the almanac of that year, with the time of his birth, by a man who was most worthy of credence.

To the same monarch, Cardinal Hadrian à Castello, who had become known to him through employment as papal ambassador in England after like employment in Scotland, and who was subsequently made successively bishop of Hereford and of Bath and Wells, dedicated a book written while he was still a somewhat newly domiciled foreigner as prebendary of St. Paul's and a beneficed priest in London. The book was written before or about the year 1500, and was entitled *De vera Philosophia ex quatuor Doctoribus Ecclesiæ* (*sc.* Augustine, Ambrose, Gregory, and Jerome). It was printed at Bologna in 1507, and again after

his death, at the same place, in 1554. The dedicatory address possesses some special interest in the evidence it affords of the then growing revolt from the Aristotelian philosophy which had so long held possession of Schools and Church. Castello says that on his return to Rome, after discharge of the mission with which he had been intrusted by Innocent VIII., he was much disturbed by finding how learned men maintained that Holy Scripture could not be understood except by the light afforded by Aristotle, who, with other philosophers, was regarded as being already in Heaven, and that the most profound theologians were esteemed ignorant of Scripture unless they submitted to Aristotle and human reason. Finding all the schools and monasteries given up to the study of philosophy, he set himself to collect out of four Fathers, whose authority no one would dare to deny, a *catena* of passages relating to the true understanding of Scripture, in opposition to these opinions. Being now released from that work-house of political business into which he had been cast by Pope Alexander VI., he weaves his disjointed notes into a connected shape, and presents them to the king, who is as religious as he is powerful, and to whom, in return for benefits already received, Hadrian now dedicates all his work and life.

ARCHBISHOP WARHAM.—To Warham the printer, Jodocus Badius Ascensius, presents from Paris in 1506 his edition of Lyndwode's *Provinciale Angliæ*, "printed at the expense of two booksellers, Wolfgang Hopil and John of Coblentz, for the English market, with a threefold index compiled by Badius himself. He says he had heard of the archbishop's fame through various merchants and

learned men, but would not have ventured to address him had he not been assured by his great and excellent friend, Sir Robert Ayschecum, of Warham's great kindness and goodness, and that he was unsurpassed in his province in lowliness of self-esteem and worthiness for his office; Ayschecum added that it was fitting that the statutes of the archbishops of Canterbury should go to him who was himself archbishop; Badius was willingly persuaded by these considerations, especially as he thought it would be a lucky thing for the excellent booksellers who had been at the expense of the work, if it should come forth to the world under such auspices. He prays therefore for Warham's acceptance of the book, and that he will suffer it to be current through the richly-stored markets and well-taught schools of 'Great Britain,' that most famous of islands, now commonly called England. Finally, he suggests that the archbishop would do well to reduce into one systematised and complete body those provincial constitutions which were not as yet sufficiently brought into order.

HENRY VIII.—The dedications in the earlier and later years of Henry's reign naturally vary much in the character of the writers and the grounds of their complimentary addresses.

In 1522, the famous Spanish scholar, Jo. Ludov. Vives, edited, with a commentary, the treatise *De Civitate Dei*, as vol. v. of the edition of St. Augustine's works printed at Basle by Froben. He prefaced it with a long dedication to Henry, in a strain of the highest flattery, dated from Louvain, 7th July 1522.[1] Dear, he says, was Henry before

[1] The dedication (as well as several pages elsewhere) is surrounded by an engraved border, the work of Urs Graf, the well-known engraver of Basle. To

to all men, and looked up to for his strength alike of mind and body, and for his valour in war; but now that he has given proof of what he can do by his wit and wisdom, he has become still greater in the eyes of all learned men, especially since he has united clemency and probity to a reign of which the power and majesty are the greatest in the world. Of his *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*, Vives declares 'nihil vel elegantius fieri potest, vel purius, vel sanctius, et, uno uti verbo dicam, Christianius.'

In 1537 Sebastian Munster, a Protestant, dedicated to Henry a Hebrew version, printed at Basle, of the Gospel of St. Matthew, with a Latin translation and notes. He enlarges on the duty of kings, with reference to religion, and especially at this time when the laws of God were giving way to the traditions of men, and unlearned pontiffs usurped authority, or rather license, 'propter claves violenter tot annis administratas.' After dwelling on the warning of the example of the Jews he goes on to say that he publishes, under the king's auspices, this old version (which he had found incomplete but has rendered perfect) in the hope, not of converting Jews, but of spurring on Christians to the greater study of the Scriptures in the original languages, a study which the king has from his youth so encouraged as to be an example to all Christian princes.[1]

his pupil the Princess Mary, Vives subsequently inscribed (in a dedication dated at Bruges, 1st July 1524) a collection of proverbial and wise sayings, with explanatory notes, which he entitled 'Satellitium,' or Body-Guard. To Wolsey, dating from Oxford, 15th December 1523, he dedicated a translation of the Areopagitic Oration of Isocrates, speaking highly of his liberality to scholars. His professorship at Oxford [at Corpus Christi College] had been given him by Wolsey, but it, with his other work, left him but little leisure for anything else. Vives' estimation of the king's character probably underwent a considerable change after he had been imprisoned by him for opposing the divorce.

[1] Munster's original letter to the king about the dedication is in Harl. MS. 6989. f. 73, and is noticed in the *Calendar of State Papers*. vol xii. p. 278.

Then in March, 1538, H. Bullinger presents to Henry his treatise *De Scripturæ Sanctæ Authoritate . . . contra superstitionis tyrannidisque Romanæ antistites*, as to one who is not only, besides his other titles, 'Walliæ et Cornubiæ principi,' but also 'Catholicæ fidei defensori.' The dedication vindicates the authority of the king with regard to religion, and concludes with an appeal to him as the head of the realm, the soul of the English body, the eye, the sun, and the light of the English Church, that as he has begun Christ's work well, so he will go on with it boldly. Finally, Bullinger prays for his welfare, 'una cum nuper nato principe novo.' The future Edward VI. was now six months old, and Bullinger evidently was not aware that he was Duke of Cornwall from his birth, although not Prince of Wales. At the end of the book there is 'Peroratio ad Regem,' a spirited exhortation to persevere in his opposition to Rome. England is full of learned, wise, and pious men; there is no need to look abroad to others.

In the same year, Simon Grynæus, another German Protestant, dedicates to Henry his edition of Ptolemy's *Magna Constructio*, with Theon's commentaries in Greek, printed at Basle. He addresses him as being skilled in astronomy, and as one whose weighty judgment would lead him to re-establish the science, at least in the king's own schools if not elsewhere. And who, Grynæus asks, would appeal to any one rather than to a king to help? and amongst kings to whom rather than to one 'qui, præclarissimo sæculi nostri exemplo, primus regum omnium perniciosis falsæ religionis legibus contra omnium expectationem occurrens, manum laboranti veritati porrigere, ac locum sanæ doctrinæ, fuit ausus.' The writer is encouraged in

his work by the success of his edition of Euclid, which the king has recommended to students, so that Grynæus hears that it is now everywhere in their hands, and is used in the regular lectures in schools which are not obscure. He then proceeds with an earnest address upon the benefits to be derived from the consideration of God's works in nature and the world, and ends with an appeal to the king to promote varied studies throughout his kingdom, the excellent and liberal spirit of the English always admitting the cultivation both of all virtues and of all good arts. He himself, he thinks, deserves thanks for his great labours, not only in finding MSS., but in printing them; he has wearied all the printers, and this kind of work [*i.e.* the printing Greek] is done very badly by them.

In 1546 a book of a very different kind sought the king's patronage, viz., *Quesiti et inventioni diverse*, by Nicolo Tartalea of Brescia, a work on gunnery and the art of war, in nine books of conversations with various persons. He dedicates it to Henry VIII. at the suggestion of one of his gentlemen, Richard Wentworth, who had not only dilated on the king's magnificence, magnanimity, liberality, generosity, humanity, and clemency, but also said that he delighted greatly in everything pertaining to war. Tartalea offers his book, therefore, not as being worthy of his highness, but on account of the novelty of the subjects with which it deals.

In the fifth book, which treats of the selection of sites for cities and their arrangement, Wentworth is the person with whom Tartalea holds discourse. The latter mentions in his dedication that he was led to take up the subject of artillery by a question put to him at Verona in 1531 by a skilful gunner, and that in 1537 he hastily wrote

and published a little book on the subject, when he heard what great preparations the Sultan Soliman was making to attack the Christians.

EDWARD VI.—*To this king Nicolas Pruckner* of Strassburg dedicates a large collection of astronomical and astrological treatises, published at Basle in April 1551, beginning with Firmicus and Ptolemy's *Quadripartitum*. In his address, dated 28th January 1551, he enlarges on the practical usefulness of astrology, with illustrations from ancient history, adding that he could bring many instances from their own time, and instances in which he himself had foretold many events to great men, were it not invidious ('odiosum') so to do. Antiquity, he says, is removed 'ab invidia.' Arts and powers are not to be estimated by men's rejection of them; else the prophets and apostles must be rejected, who all were slain or persecuted. The last two years had shown many good evangelical preachers cast out from their cities; was the evangel then itself not true, or were they themselves evil? The rising virtue of Edward and the reviving religion of his realm are being watched with no little attention. Howsoever wickedness may rage, his virtue and goodness shall grow, to the increase of majesty, the enlargement of his kingdom, the establishment of religion, the peace of his people.

Bullinger dedicated to Edward a portion of his *Decades*, but notice here is unnecessary as the book is accessible among the reprints of the Parker Society.

From dedications to royal personages I go on to notice a few to others who lived during the same period of the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., and these I will arrange alphabetically.

JOHN BALE.—To Conrad Gesner John Bale gave a Welsh version of the Lord's Prayer, which is printed with other versions in Gesner's collection of specimens of various languages, the earliest polyglot collection in existence, entitled *Mithridates*, in honour of the polyglot king, the Mezzofanti of the ancient world, who is said to have spoken twenty-two languages. The book (a small octavo, printed at Zürich by Froschover in 1555[1]) is, therefore, in return, dedicated to Bale, addressed as 'optime et doctissime,' as one who was not only a warm friend, but a benefactor, having enlarged Gesner's library by the gift of books. In this dedication Gesner speaks of the growing use of the vernacular tongues in Holy Scripture and in the offering of prayers privately, and publicly in churches, '*invito Antichristo*.'

The Welsh version of the Lord's Prayer appears to be the second printed specimen of the language. At the end of the volume there is a vocabulary of the language, 'quam Germani vocant *Rotwelsch*,' of the *Zigari* or Gipsies, occupying nine pages, taken from a book printed at Basle by Rodolph Dekk 'de mendicis et variis eorum differentiis.'

JOHN CLAYMOND, President, first of Magdalen College, and afterwards of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.—Erasmus inscribes to Claymond, as to an intimate friend, six *Conciunculæ* of Chrysostom, printed at Basle by Froben in 1526. He addresses him as President 'collegii apum,' presenting to him flowers for the extraction of honey; this metaphor being evidently suggested by the curious fact

[1] The Bodleian copy of the book, which is in Selden's collection, is in original stamped binding bearing on one side the head of 'Erasmus Roterodamus.'

that, on the building of the college, bees settled in the roof over the chamber occupied by Lud. Vives, remaining in possession until the time of the Commonwealth. Erasmus says that he prints his text from a very old MS. not previously collated.[1]

JOHN CLERK, afterwards bishop of Bath and Wells, ambassador and 'orator' at Rome from Henry VIII.—In 1528 we find a dedication in Greek to Clerk by John Cheradamus of his edition of Aristophanes. After commending his knowledge of the poets, and his right use of wealth in assisting others, it ends with the highest commendation of Thomas Lupset (λουψαῖτος), for learning, approved life, ability in speech, and virtue.

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.—A prolix address occupying nine folio pages is prefixed to vol. i. of Bucer's *Enarrationes in epp. D. Pauli*, Strasburg, 1536. A short abstract of what Bucer says about Cranmer himself is given by Strype in his *Memorials of Cranmer*, but not of his character of King Henry, of whom Bucer says that he is 'inter reges Christiani nominis decus præcipuum,' and that all who see him and judge of him by personal knowledge with one mouth ascribe to him singular persistency in things well begun, and singular dexterity and earnestness in carrying them out.

EDWARD FOX, bishop of Hereford.—In 1536 Bucer dedicated to Fox the third edition of his *Enarrationes in* IV *Evangelia*. The bishop, he says, had often shown in the public discharge of his embassy [in 1535] to the Reformed Princes of

[1] Erasmus's punning dedication to Sir Thomas More of his *Encomium Moriæ* is well known. He inscribed translations from Plutarch to Henry VIII. very briefly.

Germany, as well as in private conferences (many of which he held with Bucer himself), his desire for a general clear declaration as to Christian doctrine. Bucer then proceeds to descant on the views of the German Reformers upon the Sacraments, ending with the hope that the prospects of unity abroad will be encouraged when it is known that there are in England many bishops like Fox, devoted to the restoration of Christ's kingdom. He prays, both for Fox and for Fox's colleague in his embassy, Nicholas 'Hættæus,' *i.e.* Heath, afterwards archbishop of York.

JOHN HAMILTON, archbishop of St. Andrews.—Jerome Cardan, the famous physician, dedicates to him, in a preface dated at Milan, 16th June 1553, his edition of the text of Ptolemy's *Quadripartitum* with full commentary, printed at Basle, and dated 1554. After enlarging on the religious and moral benefits derived from the study of the stars, he goes on to relate the cause of his undertaking to edit Ptolemy's book when for 1400 years it had been cast aside. He had gone to Lyons on his way to Paris to attend Hamilton (whose name he gives as 'Hamulthon') who was in ill health, and had taken with him only a few books, hoping soon to return home. But there came an order for him to go to the archbishop in Scotland. This he thought would involve great loss of time; and while he was looking for another book, some one by chance gave him instead this book of Ptolemy. At once, that no time might be lost, he prepared to work at it; he bought some books which he deemed necessary, and was given others. He began his task at sea, and made as much progress as he could have made leisurely at home. He has not left a single

word unexplained nor anything doubtful. And under whose auspices can the book better come forth than under his by whose liberality the opportunity for it has been afforded? The memory of one bountiful, pious, wise, beyond all Cardan has seen, heard, or read of, and of his family, ought indeed to be cultivated. Cardan had formerly dreaded the very name of a Scot, following the example of those who began to hate before they began to know. But now, when the nation proves to be courteous and refined beyond all belief, it becomes the nobler by the ornament which Hamilton adds to it. The erection of the University of St. Andrews, the maintenance of the authority of his excellent brother the Regent, these are but traces of his virtue. Of his liberality to the poor Cardan will only say that it belongs to the perfect pastor, such as he is, that, rather than the deserving should want, the undeserving should receive. His patient endurance is miraculous. When Cardan has seen him amidst the sharpest pains of a cruel disease, not depressed or trembling, but cheerful and even laughing, he has said, Here is verily the one sole man; the rest of us are but as shadows. Something perhaps was needed to make him think lightly of life when all the outward advantages of the world, with fellowship of kings and highest esteem of the Pontiff, were his. His, too, skill in many languages, such knowledge of Holy Scripture that he can scarcely be said to be second to any one, and piety and ability even greater than these. Cardan would fear that he might be taken to be only imagining what he would wish a prince to be if those who know the writer did not know that he never uttered falsehood, and those who know the archbishop did not know that he exceeded the report.

JOHN MORE (son of Sir Thomas More).—A long preface by Grynæus to his 1534 edition of Plato with the commentaries of Proclus, addressed to John More, contains some specially interesting notices. Three years before, he had come to England (which he had long wished to visit) with letters of introduction from Erasmus which secured him the warmest reception in More's house, one consecrated to the muses. More's father, *facile princeps* not only in rank but in every thing great in the whole kingdom, in the midst of all his business, admitted Grynæus, a private and unknown person, to conference and to his table; when he went to court took him with him and attached him to his side; and, easily perceiving that as to religion their opinions were in many points different, took it quietly and kindly, and in spite of it so helped him by his advice and with money that all his business was accomplished. He sent with him to Oxford a learned youth named Harris, and such letters of introduction that at the sight of them by the heads of the colleges, all the libraries were opened to him as though touched by a magic wand. The kindness of that most excellent and learned man, John Claymond, was especially marked, who liberally communicated, to be used for the benefit of students, some other works of Proclus. Grynæus consequently searched through some twenty libraries filled with ancient books, and brought away commentaries by Proclus which may possibly be published in the course of a year or two. He trusts that what he now prints, by John More's help, will be of great use to the latter, whom he knows to be well prepared for the weightiest discussions by the habits of his great father and intercourse with his sisters, who are perfectly instructed in every kind

of learning. For him, and for those sister-muses, for whom alike no difficulty in philosophy is too great, there is no author more adapted than Plato.

WILLIAM PAGET (first Baron Paget, Secretary of State, and afterwards Lord Privy Seal).—From Strassburg Nicolas Prukner (*sic*) presents to Paget in 1550 a book on judicial astrology by Guido Bonati, a Minorite of Friuli, printed at Basle. He tells Paget that when Friuli was being besieged by Pope Martin IV. (*al.* II.; about 1284?) the inhabitants were told by their townsman, the author, who was the most learned astrologer of his time, on what day and at what hour they should fight with best success, and that by following his directions they saved their city from capture. He sends the book now to Paget that England may learn how in like case to secure a like result; and to Paget himself, because when Prukner was in England he was charmed with his prudence in state affairs, his courtesy to persons of all ranks, and his kindness to the writer. He will see what mathematicians can learn from the book, and can be informed also by Nicholas Kratzer, who is worthy of better fortune than usually falls to men like him, and who is excelled in skill by none.[1] Prukner proposes to print soon an Apology for astrology, written by Lucas Bellantius, a physician, in answer to John Picus of Mirandula.

[1] Kratzer was a Bavarian by birth, who was made a Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, by the founder, Bishop Fox, in 1517, and Reader in Astronomy by Henry VIII., and in Mathematics by Wolsey. He was incorporated as B.A. in 1522, and afterwards became M.A. He constructed the famous sundial which formerly stood in the garden of Corpus Christi College, of which an engraving is given in Dr. Fowler's *History* of the College, 1893, at p. 85. Ant. Wood thinks that he died soon after 1550. Of him Prukner says 'ita suæ artis peritus est, ut solus hic artifex haberi debeat.'

CARDINAL POLE.—In his work *De numero oratorio*, printed by Paulus Manutius in 1554, Jovita Rapicius of Brescia somewhat naïvely expresses his regret, upon seeing how Italians, Spaniards, Germans, French, and Britons '*toto orbe divisi*,' were all rivalling one another in restoring the study of good arts, that he had spent nearly all his life in teaching just what the men of the time cared to learn from him without thinking of posterity. So now, desiring to do something that may be profitable to men of a future age, he resolved to write on oratorical rhythm, as a subject with which he was acquainted. He believes he has thrown light upon a difficult subject, and made it easy for others to add to what he has done, and he offers the book to Pole, not on account of his royal kinship, or his priestly dignity and greatness of office, but for the integrity of his life. Who cannot but admire that true religion and piety, the parent of all virtues, from which no threats of a foolish tyrant, no losses or evils, could tear him away; for the sake of whose preservation he had traversed a good part of Europe as legate of the Pontiff, and exposed himself not merely to the hatred, but to the weapons, of the ungodly. He would say more did he not remember Pole's modesty; but of that his virtue, one almost unique, he cannot be silent, that which would not suffer him to accept the Pontificate when offered, leaving it doubtful to others, but not to the writer, which was the greater merit in him, to have deserved that highest dignity, or to have refused it.

CUTHBERT TONSTALL, bishop of London and afterwards of Durham.—In a long preface to the *editio princeps* of the Greek text of Euclid,

published at Basle in 1533, Grynæus says that he offers his book to Tonstall on account of the latter having shown by his treatise, *De arte supputandi* (printed in 1522), that he could have well illustrated the whole subject, had he not been engrossed with higher things as a pastor of God's people. For his edition, Grynæus had had two MSS. communicated to him, one by Lazarus Bayfius at Venice, the other by John Ruellius at Paris, while for the commentaries of Proclus, he was indebted to John Claymond at Oxford; all three, 'viri optimi et humanissimi, literis juvandis et exornandis facti.'

In 1542 another book was dedicated to Tonstall, John Birchman (*sic*), the bookseller of Cologne, inscribing to him, on 1st June, his edition of Hesiod, printed with Tzetzes' *Scholia* from a MS. given to Cambridge by the bishop. In his frequent embassies, for which his learning and abilities so eminently fitted him, it had been Tonstall's constant custom to search libraries everywhere to find what might be useful for students, and he is consequently universally acknowledged to have enriched Britain with the best Greek and Latin books. For, unlike many, he has not kept them to himself, but has given them to academies and schools to prevent their loss. Hence it is that Cambridge, enriched by him, has not only sent out through the whole world the most highly instructed and refined wits, but also has desired that the indispensable commentaries of Tzetzes upon Hesiod should be made common property. That this might be the better done, the learned John Cheke, professor there of Medicine[1]

[1] No other statement to this effect is known, of Cheke's having taught Medicine at Cambridge.

and of Greek, the ornament not merely of that gymnasium but almost of all Britain, intrusted the editing to Birchman. And now to Tonstall the printed book returns, to give him no small pleasure when he sees how his solitary archetype has produced an infinite number of copies, and to move him, as it is hoped, to communicate to Birchman the rest of his rare MSS. for publication.

W. D. MACRAY.

BOOKS WITH WOODCUTS PRINTED AT PAVIA

A CHARACTERISTIC difference between Italian wood-engraving and that of other countries lies in the variety of the artistic style which we meet with in the early Italian books. In Northern lands the art of wood-engraving was first practised merely as a handicraft, and we find therefore great uniformity both of style and technique; at a later period, however, the help of really great artists, who as designers came to the aid of the working wood-cutters, raised wood-engraving to the level of a

fine art. In Italy, in the fifteenth century, much more than in any other country, all the different handicrafts connected with art had become pervaded by the artistic spirit to an unusual degree. Wood-engraving found, therefore, in its turn, artists who contributed to its technical development from having been previously engaged in work, not exactly of the same, but of a similar nature. These workers established the art of wood-engraving on a broader and more artistic basis.

An examination of the woodcuts in early Italian printed books reveals not only certain schools of engravers (as for instance those of Venice, Florence, and Milan) with a distinct continuity in the style of their work, but shows us also a great number of different styles of engraving represented by a very small number of woodcuts, or sometimes by a unique example.

In the various groups of engravings springing from the separate art centres of Italy, we recognise distinctly different styles, each characteristic in itself and each in direct relation to the particular style of art prevalent in the province from which it originated. By the study of engraving and its kindred arts, therefore, we learn how far certain artistic forms established themselves and became common in a province; we can even trace the extent of their influence. To obtain a special knowledge of the history of engraving, it is important, I think, to study also those groups of wood-engravings in a particular style, which belong to the smaller art-centres of Italy.

In the present article, I shall endeavour to bring before the notice of amateurs a group of wood-engravings to which attention has not yet been called: I mean the woodcuts we find in the

books printed at Pavia. Of these I shall give a list and endeavour to show their artistic origin and development.

In addition to some ecclesiastical works, Pavia, with its celebrated university, gave birth chiefly to books of science, grammatical, judicial, and medical treatises, the subjects of which did not at all demand illustrations. But at this period Italy was penetrated throughout by art. Whether from the influence of art in Pavia itself, the city of the far-famed Certosa, or whether the sight of the splendidly illustrated books produced by other cities excited the Pavese printers to adorn their books also—whatever may have been the cause, the fact remains that Pavia in her illustrated books did not lag behind the other Italian cities. The principal printer of Pavia, Jacobus de Paucidrapiis de Burgofranco, with his finely printed and illustrated books, finished with great care and good taste, gives us a remarkable contribution to the history of book-illustration in Italy.

I cannot venture to trace the origin of the woodcuts in the earliest illustrated books of Pavia. The few examples we possess of Pavian woodcuts before the end of the fifteenth century do not afford sufficient material on which to form a judgment. It is remarkable that they differ entirely from the engravings found in Milanese books of the same date. The engraving in the *Missale Romanum* printed at Pavia in 1491 by Joan. Ant. Biretus and Fr. Gyrardenghus is very roughly cut, but we can nevertheless perceive the really good drawing which lay underneath. (See fig. 1.) This cut as well as the second one we meet with in Pavian books of the fifteenth century (the engraving on the title-page of the *Breviarium Romanum* printed

by Fr. Gyrardenghus in 1494) (see fig. 2) exhibits a certain resemblance to some early specimens of woodcuts of the Paduan school, especially to

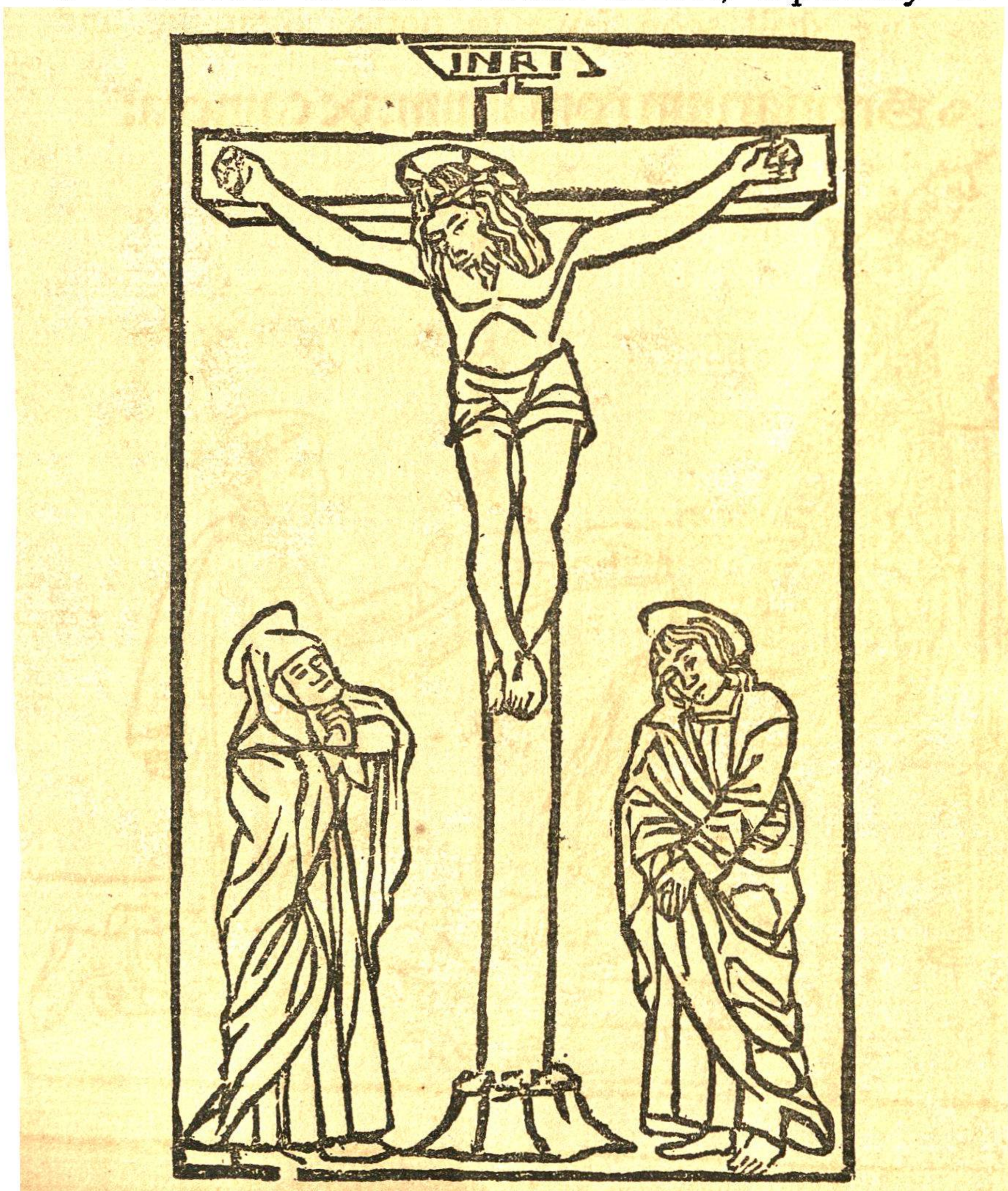


FIG. 1.—FROM THE *MISSALE ROMANUM* OF 1491

the early engravings of Ferrara. (See Gruyer, Les livres publiés à Ferrara avec des gravures sur

bois. Gazette des Beaux Arts, 1889.) The artistic relations between North-East Italy and Milan are well known, so the resemblance need not surprise us: we shall soon have to notice a similar and

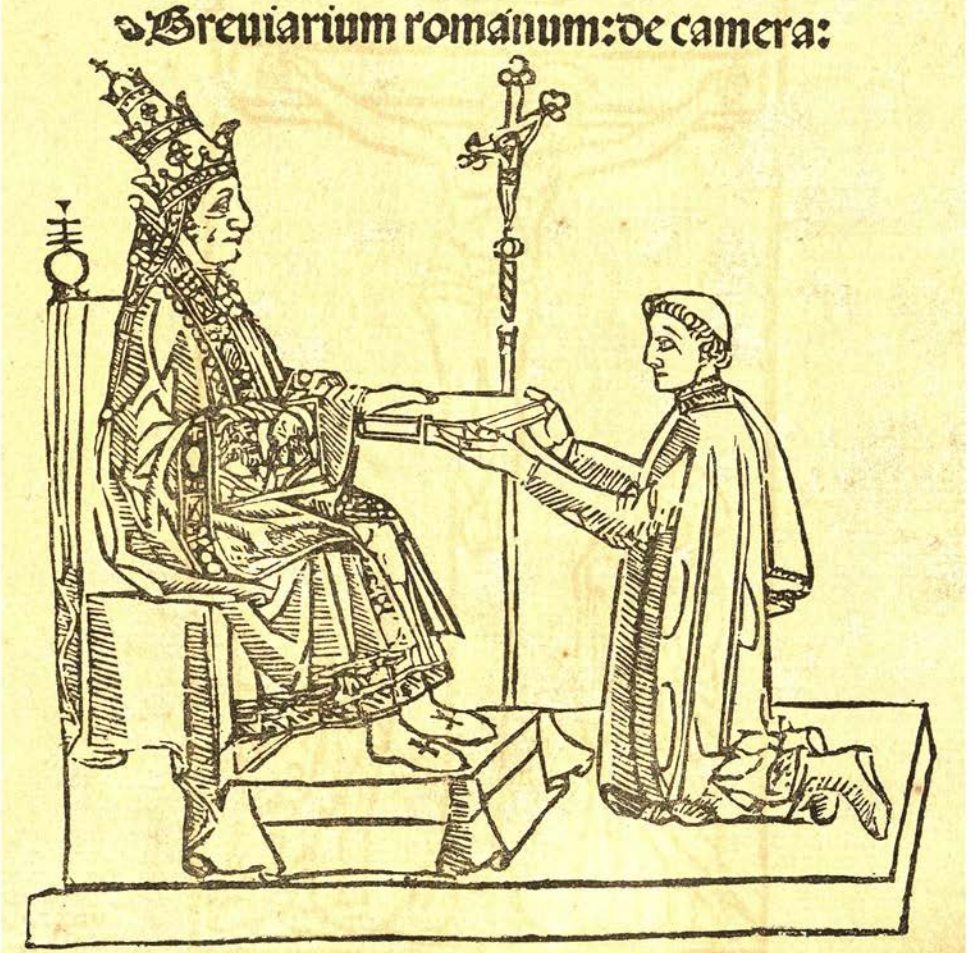


FIG. 2.—FROM THE *BREVIARIUM ROMANUM* OF 1494

more obvious point of connection between Ferrarese and Pavese wood-engraving. The engraving of the *Missale* of 1491 has no shading lines; it is formed

of outlines only, with a few other lines indicating the muscles of the body and the folds of the draperies. In the woodcut of the *Breviarium* of 1494 the drawing is not so good, but there are some attempts at shading, done in a very irregular manner. In the same style, but showing more regularity and more careful workmanship, is the engraving exhibiting St. Ambrose and St. Augustine sitting together, found on the title-page of the *Repetitio* of Jason Maynus of 1499 (printed by Mich. and Bernard. fratres de Garaldis.) The same style of engraving is found in the splendid printer's device of the brothers de Garaldis; a very fine drawing of a young warrior (Mercury) full of grace and energy of movement, which may perhaps have been executed before the year 1506, although a book printed at Pavia at this date is the first in which I have found it. (See List No. 12.)

It is not until the end of the fifteenth century that we find a special and characteristic style of wood-engraving, not to be found in books printed elsewhere in Italy, developed in the Pavian books. There is only one other engraving of this manner; it is remarkable that it is the first specimen met with, to be found in a book printed not in Pavia but in the neighbouring city of Milan. The fine engraving[1] adorning the first page of the *Missale Ambrosianum* (printed in 1499 by Leonardus Pachel) differs entirely from the other engravings of earlier or later Milanese books, and even from the other two large engravings of the *Missale*, of which one is taken from the 1488 edition of the *Missale Ambrosianum* (Milan, Antonius Zarotus. Hain 11256), while the other is a very curious

[1] The size of the original is 247 × 170 mm. A copy of the book is preserved in the Imperial Library at Vienna.

FIG. 3.—FROM THE *MISSALE AMBROSIANUM* OF 1499 (MILAN)

metal-cut copy of the first copper-engraving of the Florentine series of the life of the Virgin. (Bartsch XIII. p. 257. No. 6.)

This really fine piece of work (see fig. 3) shows in the drawing the undoubted characteristics of the Milanese school of painting and immediately brings to our minds the style of Ambrogio Borgognone. But the technique of the engraving is quite different from that of the other Milanese woodcuts, of which a great number (generally of very little artistic merit) are to be seen in numerous books printed at Milan. We are able to recognise the firm, delicate technique of the Venetian school, the thin accurately cut outlines, the fine, short, straight shading-lines, forming a complete contrast to the thicker and heavier work and the dry mechanical cut of the Milanese engravers. In the style of the technique as well as in many points of drawing where the woodcuts seem to be independent of the original design, there are striking analogies with the woodcuts of Ferrara, in particular with the well-known masterpieces executed there in 1497, in the *De claris mulieribus* of Bergomensis, and the *Epistles* of St. Jerome. There can be no doubt that this engraving was executed from the drawing of a fine Milanese artist of the school of Borgognone, by a woodcutter of Ferrara, who learnt his art in that town, and was probably employed in Lorenzo de Rossi's studio, but either received an invitation to Milan or found his way there in search of work when it became scarce in Ferrara.

Although this is the only specimen of this particular style of engraving found in Milan, we shall have to enumerate a rather considerable number of works of a similar kind found in books printed at Pavia, for the most part in books

printed by Jacobus de Paucidrapiis de Burgofranco. It may be that our artist only occasionally worked for the Milanese printers of the *Missale Ambrosianum*, and that his earlier works in Pavian books may have been lost, or at any rate are not yet known to us; but it is perhaps more probable that he first came to Milan in 1499, after having done work in Ferrara for Lorenzo de Rossi's finely illustrated books of 1497, and that Jacopo de Paucidrapiis, recognising his skill, succeeded in obtaining his aid for the artistic work connected with his press.

Nevertheless, I do not commit myself to saying that all the engravings we meet with in the Pavian books are to be ascribed to the same artist. It is not as a rule possible to distinguish individual artists in the different schools of engraving, working from the drawings of different masters, and often copying woodcuts of other styles. It may be necessary, I think, even to distinguish different types as well as different periods of their development, as I shall have to show very soon. But what seems to me of real importance is that we have to recognise in Pavia an independent group of woodcuts, quite different in character from the Milanese engravings and from those of the other towns of Italy, which derive their technique from the Ferrara school of woodcutting, whilst in drawing they show a distinct affinity to the Milanese school.

The Milanese character of the drawings becomes evident when we compare the woodcuts with paintings of this school, nor do I think we shall have much difficulty in showing the connection between the technique of the engravings with those of Ferrara. We have indeed material proof of the

justice of our comparison in the fact that some of the Pavian engravings are copies from woodcuts of books printed at Ferrara, or that show also in their drawing unmistakable evidence of their Ferrarese origin.

I am afraid that my list of books with woodcuts printed in Pavia in the fifteenth and in the beginning of the sixteenth centuries may prove rather incomplete and inexact. Although I have made very careful search in some of the richest libraries, I cannot hope to have yet discovered all the books of the kind, nor even to have noticed in every case the first editions of the books where the woodcuts are to be seen. Of most books I found only one or two copies. I feel certain that of many editions not a single copy has been preserved; of the sixteenth century in particular more than we generally suppose may have been lost altogether. I trust, however, that I have collected enough to enable me to give a correct idea of the types and of the development of the Pavian group of engravings.

It is worth while noticing that in Pavian books unusual prominence is given to the portrait of the author as a decoration; we shall be able to note some fine specimens of them. It is also important to observe a series of very fine large initials with portraits. For purely scientific books no more natural adornment could be found than the portrait of the authors, most of these being professors in the celebrated University of Pavia, and enjoying a reputation as venerable authorities in law and divinity, not amongst their own scholars alone, but throughout the whole learned world.

On the title-page of some books we see the author writing or teaching; in the initials profile-busts of the learned men are introduced, standing

out prominently from the black ground and giving the impression of a medal. (See fig. 4.) We meet with some masterpieces of the art of portraiture, of tasteful arrangement and good and careful execution, as for instance in the *Singularia* of Matthaeus de Matthesilanis (1501, Mich. and Bern. de Garaldis), in the *Commentaria super Constitutiones* of Philippus Decius (1506, Jacob de Burgofranco), and in the same author's *Repetitio* of 1507. The first book with a series of engravings is the *Papie Sanctuarium* of Jacobus Gualla, printed by Jac. de

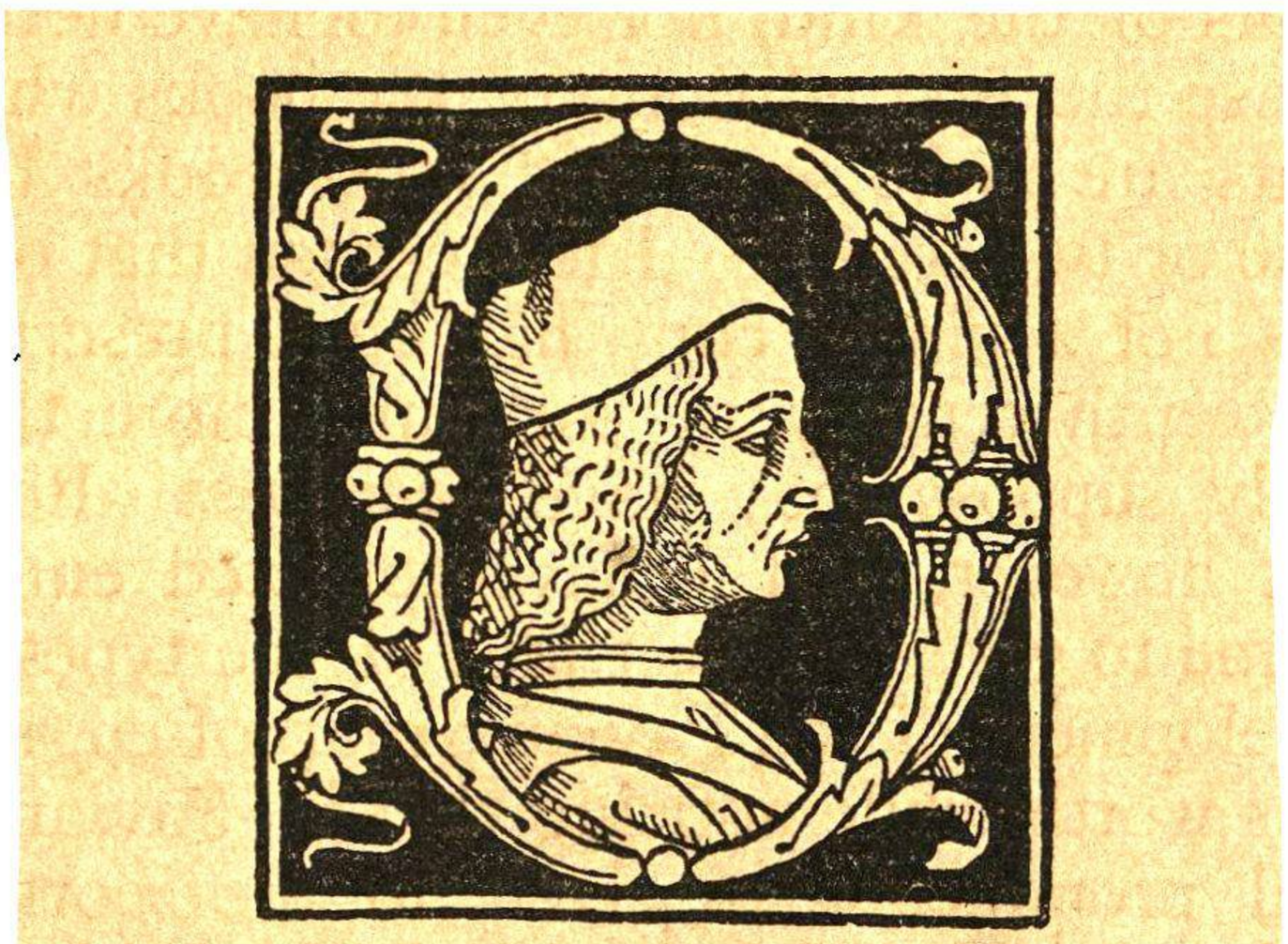


FIG. 4.—FROM PHILIPPUS DECIUS' *REPETITIO*

Burgofranco in the year 1505. This is undeniably the most important of the Pavian books with woodcuts.

On the title-page we find the portrait of the author, which is repeated on the first page of the text, surrounded by a pleasing border taken from a Ferrarese original. This is a reverse copy of the border which occurs in *Pullata Nigri Contio in D. Herculis Inferias* (1505, Ferrara), copies of which are in the British Museum, in the Casanatense at Rome, and in the possession of Professor von

Sallet at Berlin. The text of the *Gualla* is illustrated with a series of small engravings representing Saints, Bishops of Pavia, or other dignitaries connected with the churches of this town, kings, etc. The single figures are repeated many times, and are made to represent as many different saints, an economical manner of illustrating a large book common enough at this time. One of the woodcuts of the series representing St. Peter (fol. 43[a]) is executed in the same rude and primitive style as the engraving in the *Breviarium* of 1494. It may possibly have been already used for a still earlier book. Two of the figures of the bishops (fol. 2[b] and fol. 26[a], see fig. 6), and the figure of the 'Regisole' (fol. 87[a]) are taken from the frontispiece of the *Statuta et Decreta Papie*, printed some months earlier, which shows a really fine woodcut of this style. Three other engravings, a saint with a harp, signed with the letters IO. BIA. (fol 44[b]), S. Severinus, also with a harp (fol. 54[b]), and St. Jerome (fol. 60[b]), in a fine ornamental border, show distinct Ferrarese style both in drawing and technique. They may have been copied by our Ferrarese woodcutter from some Ferrarese originals in the same way as the border of the author's portrait already mentioned. These presumably direct copies of Ferrarese woodcuts give us very decided help in recognising the difference in style of the other engravings of *Gualla* which are in the distinct Pavian manner. (See figs. 5-10).

The style of the drawing in these later engravings is quite characteristic of the Milanese pictures in the same way as is the fine engraving in the *Missale Ambrosianum* of 1499 described above. There are the same types of faces, the same movements the same lines of drapery, only we

FIG. 5.—(FOL. 32*a*)

FIG. 6.—(FOL. 26*a*)

FIG. 7.—(FOL. 39*b*)

FIG. 8.—(FOL. 71*b*)

CUTS FROM GUALLA, *PAPIE SANCTUARIUM*, 1505

detect greater freedom and more vivacity of movement, and greater breadth of treatment in the arrangement of draperies. The landscapes which form the background of some of the figures are of great delicacy. Of course these slight alterations in style are due to the artist who finished the drawings, but no doubt also the engraver, who in 1499 was still entirely under the influence of his

FIG. 9.—(FOL. 36*b*)

FIG. 10.—(FOL. 36*a*)

FROM GUALLA, *PAPIE SANCTUARIUM*, 1505.

first working place, had made some change in his technique, adapting it in some degree to the style of the Milanese drawing. The lines are much more rounded, the shadows softer, the single lines are a little pointed at the ends, heavier shadows are indicated by black spots, and even now and then with some cross-scratchings.

Drawing and technique combined produce an extremely fine artistic effect, showing that in his own way each artist was a man of unusual skill. I have little doubt that most readers will agree with me in ranking these illustrations of *Gualla* and of the *Statuta* amongst the best works of the Italian wood-engravers. In them the characteristics of the style of wood-engraving as practised at Pavia, and especially in the office of Jacobus de Burgofranco,

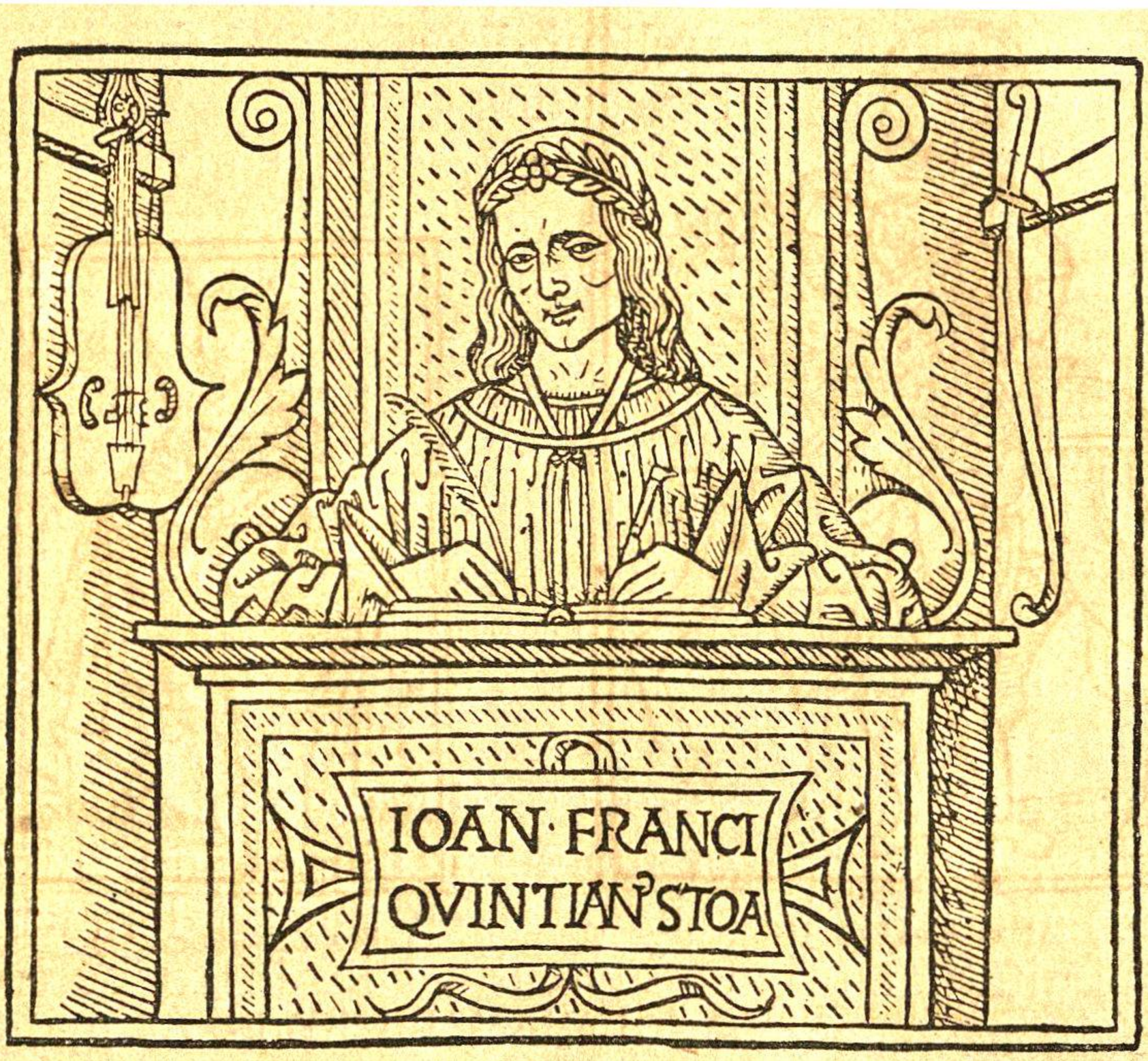


FIG. 11.—FROM QUINTIANUS STOA, *DE QUANTITATE SYLLABARUM*

are seen in full distinction; we see fully developed all the special manners which enable us to classify engravings of this particular kind as Pavian work.

The author's portrait in the *Gualla* finds a companion, but a companion vastly superior to it, both as a portrait and in vitality and sentiment.

in the portrait of Quintianus Stoa, in the frontispiece of his treatise *De Quantitate Syllabarum*, printed by Jacobus de Burgofranco in the year 1511. (See fig. 11.) There are editions of this book printed in Pavia in 1500 and 1504. I have not seen them, but it is possible that the woodcut had already appeared in the 1504 edition.

The reproduction we give will be sufficient to show the charm and the fine taste of this portrait, which stands out prominently amongst Italian wood-engravings for its excellent drawing and the delicate care of its technical execution.

The list of books with woodcuts given at the end of my paper relieves me from the necessity of enumerating the single woodcuts in the same style; it remains, therefore, only necessary to glance at the further technical development of engraving in Pavia. The development of the art of wood-engraving is very fairly coincident in the various schools of art. Everywhere is seen the tendency to more liberty and 'abandon,' both in composition and drawing, an inclination to give more rounding off and greater softness to the single forms. The engravers seek more and more to produce differences in tone and colour, by means of more hatchings, and thinner lines and cross-hatching. Even the borders which (in imitation of the Florentine) begin to be commonly used, show a distinct intention of making the woodcut into something of a picture.

This later departure in the development of Quattro-cento wood-engraving does not generally represent real artistic progress; and also the Pavian book-illustrations of this later period have lost much of their original freshness and delicacy. The types and forms have become more conventional, the folds heavier and stiff· the technique, although

FIG. 12.—FROM THE *AUREUM OPUS* OF PLINY

remaining clean and careful, tries to give more of the effect of colour to the engraving by means of masses of fine, close, and somewhat rounded lines. Examples of this type may be seen in the frontispiece of the *Primum Volumen Galeni*, printed in 1515; and in that of the *Scriptum Joannis Duns Scoti super quarto sententiarum* of the year 1517.

PAUL KRISTELLER.

LIST OF BOOKS WITH WOODCUTS PRINTED AT PAVIA

By JOANNES ANTONIUS BIRRETA and FRANCISCUS GYRARDENGHUS.

1. Missale Romanum. 8vo. 6 June 1491.

Cut: Christ on the Cross, Mary and S. John standing on either side. (Mm. 130×76.)
Printer's Mark: No. 123.[1]
Hain 11396. Copy in British Museum (335-6. a. 23.)

By FRANCISCUS GYRARDENGHUS.

2. Breviarium Romanum de Camera. Folio. 10 November 1494.

Cut: The Pope enthroned on the left, holding a tablet with the heads of two apostles, receives a book from a kneeling priest. (Mm. 152×147.)
Mark: No. 130.
Hain 3917. Copies in Vatican, Brera Library at Milan (imperfect.)

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[1] The references for the printers' marks are throughout to *Die italienischen Buchdrucker- und Verlegerzeichen, herausgegeben von Paul Kristeller*, Strassburg, 1893. The numbers before the different entries show the chronological order of the whole series of books.

By MICHAEL and BERNARDINUS FRATRES DE GARALDIS.

3. Alexander Grammaticus, de Villadei. Doctrinale. Folio. 19 September 1499.

Cut: S. Ambrose and S. Augustine sitting together. (Mm. 120×65.)
Copy in the University Library at Pavia.

4. Jason Maynus. Repetitio . . . de fluminibus. Folio. 21 November 1499.

Same woodcut as in No. 3.
Hain 10957.* Copy at Munich.

6. Matthæus de Matthesilanis. Singularia siue notabilia dicta. Folio. October 1501.

Ornamental Initial C. Copy in the Magliabecchi Library at Florence.

7. Samuel Cassinensis. Libellus de genealogia saluatoris. 4°. 14 November 1502.

Cut: The Virgin and Holy Child. (Mm. 135×93.)
Copy in British Museum.

By BERNARDINUS DE GARALDIS (?)

12. Nicolaus de Spinelis. Lectura super toto Institutorum libro. Folio. 9 October 1506.

Copy at Berlin.

Mark: No. 126. A Roman warrior (or Mercury?) holding a sword in the left hand and a winged staff in the right. This mark recurs in Jason Maynus *Repetitio de re coniuncti, ff. de leg.* iii. 1506, fol. (Mazarine Library); in two books printed by B. de Garaldis, viz.: Joh. Franc. de Pavinis *Tractatus de officiis et potestate capituli*

sede vacante, 1507, fol. (Brera), and Angelus de Ubaldis *Lectura autenticorum*, 1508, fol. (Berlin); in two, printed by J. de Burgofranco, viz.: Angelus de Gambilionibus *Tractatus de Testamentis*, 1507, fol. (Brit. Mus. 5305, g.); and Carolus Rininus Regiensis *Repet.* § *Cato. l.* iiii. *de verbo obliga*, 1508, fol. (Munich); and in Petrus de Matthesilanis *Repetitio l. fil. quem hab. C. famil. hericis*, 1510, fol. (Munich.)

By BERNARDINUS DE GARALDIS.

25. Luca Valenziano Derthonese. *Poesie.* 4to. 28 January 1513.

Cut: On a tablet a vase with flames, with the words 'Camilcleo di / Luca Der / thonese.'
Copy in British Museum. (C. 62 b. 14.)

27. Pliny. Aureum opus & sublime ad medellã non parum utile . . . nõnullaque opuscula videlicet Joannis Almenar, etc. Folio. 1516.

Cut: A surgeon examining a sick man and instructing three students. (Mm. 121 × 180.) Same cut as in the *Galen* of 1515, No. 26.
Copy in British Museum (519. k. 19. (2)) and in the Vitt. Emanuele at Rome.
Copies exist of this edition with the colophon 'Bononie per Hieronimum de Benedictis de anno 1516.'

28. Mesue. Generales Canones. 8vo. 18 August 1517.

Cuts: three small figures of S. John, S. Peter, and a third saint on a black ground. (Mm. 45 × 25.)
Copy at the Brera, Milan.[1]

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[1] Woodcuts exhibiting only drawings of hands in ornamental borders are to be seen on fol. 71[r] and [v] of: *Aristotelis* Infinita nature secreta, Physionomia Michaelis Scoti, Physionomia Cochitis, Chyromantia eiusdem, printed in 1514 (* decembre), 1515 (19 January and 20 February), by Bernardinus de Garaldis. Copy in the Brit[ish] Mus[eum].

By JACOBUS PAUCIDRAPIUS DE BURGOFRANCO.

5. Jacobus de Voragine. Sermones domenicales (14 November 1499), de sanctis (2 September 1499), quadragesimales (8 January 1500). 8vo.

Cut on title-page: a bishop enthroned teaching, seven scholars on the left and six sitting on right. (Mm. 106×78.) Repeated on each title-page. Copied from cut in the *Mariale* of Voragine. (Venice, 1497.)

Copies at the Berlin Library, Corsiniana, Rome, at the Marucelli, and in Florence.

8. Statuta et Decreta Papie. 1 and 11 August 1505.

Frontispiece, exhibiting, in a richly ornamented architectural border, the figures of 'S. Sirius' and 'S. Augustinus' standing on both sides of a column, with the arms of Pavia, and the letters: S.P.Q.P. bearing the equestrian statue of a Roman Emperor (the so-called 'Regisole,' which returns also in the seal and on the standard of Pavia). Below, on the basement of the frame, there are two shields, with arms of Pavia and of the Duke of Milan as Count of Pavia. (248 × 175 mm.)

Mark 135 occurs at end of each part, together with the arms of Pavia on a shield surrounded by a garland.

Copies in Bibl. Ambrosiana, in the Brera at Milan, and in the University Library at Pavia.

9. Michele Savonarola. De Gotta, la preservatione e cura allo illustre Marchese S. Nicolo da Este. 4to. 7 November 1505.

Border: as in No. 7.

Marks: Nos. 134, 135.

Copies at the Angelica Library at Rome, and British Museum Printroom.

10. Jacobus Gualla. Papie Sanctuarium. 4to. 10 November 1505.

Cuts on title-page: An author writing, repeated on fol. 2^{v}, surrounded by a border; 24 different figures of saints, kings, etc. Fine initials. The border occurs again in the *Oratio in funere Jasonis Mayni* of Sebastianus Sapia (per Jac. de Burgofranco: 1520. 4°.)

Copies at the British Museum (4824 ccc.). Angelica Library at Rome (imperfect), University Library at Pavia, and in the possession of M. Grisebad at Berlin.

Mark: No. 135.

11. Philippus Decius. Super ti. de constitu. d. Commentaria. Folio. 4 June 1506.

Initial Q with bust of a man. Printers' mark.

Copy in Magliabecchi Library at Florence.

13. Johannes Bertachinus de Firmo. Tractatus de Episcopo. Folio. 7 May 1507.

Initial O with a bust. (Mm. 48×46.)

Copy at Brera Library, Milan.

14. Philippus Decius. Repetitio c. decernimus de iudiciis. Folio. 26 May 1507.

Initial D with bust of a man.

Copy in Magliabecchi Library at Florence.

15. S. Bonaventura. Aurea legenda maior beati Frãcisci. 8vo. 9 May 1508.

Woodcut of S. Francis receiving stigmata, in border (vases, with flowers and a cherub.) (Mm. 87×61.) Initial A.

Copy at Estense Library, Modena

16. Marcus Gatinara. De curis egritudinum particularium. [with other works.] 8vo. 12 November 1509.

Cut: SS. Cosmas and Damianus. (Mm. 103 × 79.) (Repeated in the *Liber nonus Almansoris* of Rhasis, B. de Garaldis? 1517).
Copies in Brera Library, Milan, & Vitt. Emanuele, Rome, and University Library at Pavia.

17. Paulus Ricius Israelita. Varia Opera. 4to. 1 and 10 October 1510 and 7 May 1507.

Cuts: Small woodcut of S. John the Baptist, and another of an urchin with inscription *sal federis.* (Mm. 26 × 79.)

18. Johannes Aurelius Igneus. Repetitio l. contractus de reg. iur. Folio. 11 December 1510.

Initial C repeated in the same author's *Repetitio ex causa c. de libe. prete.* of the same year.
Copy at Munich.

19. Franciscus de Curte. Repetitio l. admonendi. ff. de iureiuran. Folio. 18 February 1510.

Initial A.
Copy at Munich.

20. Quintianus Stoa (Joh. Franc. Conti.) De Syllabarum Quantitate. 4to. 30 June 1511.

Cut: portrait of the author. (Mm. 78 × 90.)
This cut is copied in the edition of Venice, 1519 (G. de Monteferrato), and in *Aurelii Bienati* Epithoma in eleg. vi. libr. Laur. Vallæ. (G. de Fontaneto, Venice, 1521.) Editions of the *De Syllabarum Quantitate* were printed at Pavia in 1500 and 1504, but I have not seen them and do not know if this or any other woodcut occurs in them.
Copies at Berlin and at the Vitt. Emanuele at Rome.

21. Index operum d. Johannis Ignei doctoris aurelii moderni. Folio. 27 February 1511.

Initial H.
Copy at Munich.

22. Thomas Radinus Thodiscus. Sideralis Abyssus. 4to. 15 March 1511.

Cuts of constellations copied from the *Hyginus*, printed by Ratdolt at Venice, 1482. Initials C and M.
Copies in the Vatican Library and in possession of the author.

23. Augustinus de Pavia. Scrutinio de la docta ignorantia. 8vo. 25 October 1513.

Cuts: (i) S. Augustine, signed F. (Mm. 28 × 19.)
(ii) Man showing a church to a monk. (Mm. 123 × 79.)
(iii) Man, seated, speaks to a monk. Repeated five times. (Mm. 123 × 80.)
Copy at National Art Library, South Kensington.
Mark: No. 134.

24. Hyginus. Astronomicon. 4°. 12 January 1513.

Cuts: The seven planets copied from the Venetian edition of *Hyginus* of 1482, the other cuts representing the constellations are the same as in *Radinus* of 1511. (No. 22.) Initials E and Q with the bust of a man.
Copy in the Alessandrina at Rome.

26. Galenus. Primum Galeni Volumen. Quarta Impressio ornatissima: continens omnes Galeni libros. Folio. 30 Sept. 1515.

Border, surrounding the whole folio-page of the title, with a triumph of bacchants on the basement, pilasters on the sides, crowned by an architrave.

Woodcut: A surgeon examining a sick man, and instructing three students. (Mm. 121×180.) Below, two angels holding shields with printers' marks. (Mark No. 136.)
A great number of initials, among which five with busts: C, D, O, Q, S.
Marks: Nos. 133 and 136.
Copy in Munich.

29. Joh. Duns Scotus. Scriptum super Quarto Sententiarum. 8vo. 1517.

Title-page, a portrait of the author, in an architectural border, two cherubs, holding shields with printers' monogram, support the title. (Reproduced in *Die ital. Buchdruckerzeichen*, No. 137.) The design, without the portrait, is repeated in *Mauritius Hybernicus Super Scoticis universalibus*, of which an imperfect copy is at Berlin.
Copy, of the title-page only, in the collection of Mr. Stiebel at Frankfurt.

30. Rochus de Curte. Fertilissimus Consuetudinum Tractatus. Folio. 13 February 1517.

Cut: a copy of the warrior (or Mercury) described under No. 12, the sword and staff changing hands (Reproduced in *Die ital. Buchdruckerzeichen* No. 127.)
Marks: Nos. 136 and 135.
Copy at Berlin.

31. Johannes Jacobus Crottus Cremonensis. Oratio in qua deflet Nicolaum Lucarum. 4to. 12 Feb. 1518.

Border in four pieces.
Copy at Angelica, Rome.

32. Sebastianus Sapia. Oratio in funere Iasonis Mayni habita. 4to. 16 June 1519.

Two initials. An edition in the following year has the border of the *Gualla* of 1505 and initials.
Copy at Berlin.

33. Paulus Soncinas. Divinum Epitoma Quæstionum in quatt. lib. sententiarum Io. Capreolo disputatarum. 8vo. 1521, 1522.

Richly ornamented border: a cartouche, between two sphinxes, bearing representation of Quintus Curtius. Women with candelabras at sides. (Mm. 189 × 90.)
Copies at Berlin and at Vaticana at Rome, and in the Marucelliana at Florence.

34. Isidorus de Isolanis. De donis S. Josephi. 4to. 30 August 1522.

A little woodcut (75 × 47 mm.) of the Madone with the child, surrounded by sixteen other little cuts with figures of saints, seven of them signed 'F.' (See No. 25.)
Border as in Gualla, 1505.
Copies in Angelica, Vitt. Emanuele, and Alessandrina at Rome.

35. Nel hora del Matutino. 4to. s. a.

See Catalogue Destailleur, No. 727.

ENGLISH BOOK-SALES. 1676—1680

BOOK-SALES in England take their beginning from the dispersal of the library of Dr. Lazarus Seaman, at his house in Warwick Court, Warwick Lane, on October 31, 1676. A letter from David Millington, a well-known auctioneer of the time, to Joseph Hill, an English Nonconformist minister in Holland, dated June 25, 1697, and now preserved in the British Museum (Stowe MS., 709), tenders to the divine the auctioneer's thanks for the 'great service done to learning and learned men in your first advising and effectually setting on foot that admirable and universally approved of way of selling Librarys by Auction amongst us'; and distinctly states that it was Hill who 'happily introduced the practice into England.' Book-sales had been practised for some time in Holland, and Hill, who from 1673 to 1678, owing to his publication of a pamphlet which gave offence to the Dutch Government, was resident in England, must have advised the executors of Dr. Seaman, a theologian of principles not widely different from his own, to adopt this method of selling his friend's library to the best advantage. In an article published last year in *Longman's Magazine*, I gave a brief account of the Seaman sale; but, as I there mentioned, at the end of ten years, Thomas Cooper, the leading auctioneer of his day, printed a complete list of the seventy-three sales which had taken place since the introduction of the practice into England: and as a contribution

to our very scanty knowledge of the history of English bookmen, I now propose to reprint this list, with a few notes.

At the outset there is one point which should be made clear. Mr. Slater, in the amusing preface to his *Early Editions* speaks, with obvious reference to this period, of the time when 'the ponderous commentaries of the Fathers held almost undisputed sway over the bookman's fancy.' As will be shown, however, few of the worthy divines whose libraries were the first to come under the auctioneer's hammer were in any sense bookmen or book-collectors, and their possession of the bulky volumes of patristic literature was not so much due to 'fancy,' as to the necessities of the theological controversies of the seventeenth century, in which many of them took an active part. In the preface to the fifty-second sale, that of Dr. Richard Lee at Hatfield, April 28, 1685, the auctioneer states that the books will be disposed of 'by way of auction, or who bids most, a method of sale so long practised and still continued in great reputation with the Reverend and Learned Clergy of the City of London, that it hath encouraged and laid the foundation of this attempt in the County of Hartford;' and the reference to the clergy as its chief patrons is amply borne out by all that can be discovered as to the owners of the books sold. Collectors certainly appear among them, but the libraries for the most part belonged to divines of the school of Hill and Seaman, many of whom in their day were conductors of the 'Morning Exercise at Cripplegate,' and some of whose works have enjoyed the honour of being edited, or excerpted from, in our own generation by the late Mr. C. H. Spurgeon. Thus we cannot set up the majority of

these gentlemen over against Pepys and Evelyn as the typical bookmen of their day; but on the other hand, it is interesting to glance at the composition and value of the libraries of the severer sect of the English clergy at this period, and to note the beginnings of the book auctions in which the collectors of later days have found their hunting-grounds. The conditions of sale, it should be noted, were very similar to those now in vogue. Imperfect books might be returned, if the imperfections were discovered before the book was removed; after the first few sales previous inspection was permitted; the books were apparently delivered to the purchasers, and a month was allowed for payment, though it was afterwards found necessary to rule that strangers must pay for and remove their books at once, or else bid through a citizen. Two differences of some importance may be noted. The auctions began as early as nine in the morning, and bidders might advance as little as a penny a time. With thus much preface I proceed to give Cooper's list, divided under years, with the addition of a few biographical notes and any details which seem of interest, from the large collection of the catalogues, priced and unpriced, preserved at the British Museum.

1. D. L. Seaman, Oct. 31, 1676.

Lazarus Seaman had been Master of Peterhouse and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and at his death, Sept. 3, 1675, was Minister of the Gospel in All Hallows, Bread Street. His books numbered between five and six thousand, and the total realised from their sale was rather over £700. The first book sold was a set of the works of S

Chrysostom (Paris, 1676), which fetched £8, 5s., and four other great editions of Cyril, Theodoret, Epiphanius and the decrees of the Councils of the Church, realised nearly £18 between them, while Walton's Polyglot of 1657 was knocked down for £8, 2s. A copy of the Eliot Bible of 1661-63 (catalogued as *Biblia Veteris et Novi Testamenti in Ling. Indica., Cantabr. in Nova Anglia*), probably one of those specially sent over from America for presentation to English divines, went for nineteen shillings, possibly the same copy which Mr. Quaritch bought in 1882 for £580. Another lot, sold for eight shillings, contained thirty tracts on the relations of England and Spain between 1585 and 1591, and this also was a good bargain. But nine-tenths of the books sold for more than they would at the present day, and 'the first attempt in this kind having given great content and satisfaction to the gentlemen who were the buyers, and no great discouragement to the sellers,' encouraged the making of a second trial, from whose catalogue our quotation is made.

2. M. Th. Kidner, Feb. 6, 167$\frac{6}{7}$.

Thomas Kidner was rector of Hitchin, in Hertfordshire. According to Cussan's *History of Herts*, he died Aug. 31, 1676, having bequeathed land to the annual value of £24 to the Hitchin Free School. His books were chiefly theological, and the best prices realised were, £7, 15s. for the works of Alph. Tostatus, and £6, 4s. for those of Cornelius à Lapide.

3. M. Will. Greenhill, Feb. 18, 167$\frac{7}{8}$.
4. D. Th. Manton, Mar. 25, 1678.
5. D. Benj. Worsley, May 13, 1678.

6. D. Jo. Godolphin, M. Ow. Philips, } Nov. 11, 1678.
7. D. Gisb. Voetius, Nov. 28, 1678.
8. Lord Warwick, D. Gabr. Sangar, } Dec. 2, 1678.

The six sales of this year show that book-auctions had taken firm root in England. William Greenhill had died seven years before his books were dispersed, in 1671, being then in his 80th year. He was a moderate nonconformist of high repute, having been appointed by the Parliament in 1649 chaplain to the late king's younger children. His books were theological and philological, and included a *Polyglot*, which went for £9, and the works of Tostatus, which fetched £7, 10s. Thomas Manton (1620-77) was an equally eminent divine of the same school. Cromwell had desired him to pray at Whitehall on the morning of his installation as Protector, and in 1660 he was one of the ministers appointed to wait on Charles II. at Breda. He became one of the Royal chaplains, but afterwards suffered imprisonment for unlicensed preaching. His books sold well, the *Polyglot* fetching £12, 6s., *Critici Sacri* (London, 1660), £13, 5s., *Corpus Byzantinæ Historiæ*, £23, 10s., and *Concil. Omn. General.*, £26.

With Benjamin Worsley our record becomes more interesting, for here we have a genuine book-man, who, like others of his class, slipped through life so quietly that the biographical dictionaries know nothing of him. The Vulgate Bible of 1590, printed at the Vatican Press of Rome, is marked in clear figures as having sold for £32, 5s, but the price is impossible, and there must be a mistake. Worsley's library was equipped with the usual theological works, which fetched average prices

But we are more interested to note his possession of the *Chaucer* of 1602 (£1, 3s. 6d.), Drayton's *Polyolbion*, 1613 (6s.), Lovelace's *Lucasta* (10d.), the second and third Shakespeare folios (16s. and £1, 8s. 6d.), and Ben Jonson's Works, 1640 (£1, 13s. 6d.).

John Godolphin (1617-78) was a younger brother of Sir William Godolphin and enjoyed the distinction of having been born at Scilly. He became a Judge of the Admiralty under the Commonwealth, and after the Restoration was one of the King's Advocates, writing in his early days *The Holy Arbor, a Body of Divinity*, and subsequently on the admiralty and canon law, with a treatise on wills, which he entitled *The Orphan's Legacy*. Of Owen Philips, the catalogue tells us that he was a Master of Arts and 'Scholæ Wintonensis Hypodidascalus.' He possessed some of the recognised classics of theology, and his *Polyglot*, being bound 'corio turcico,' fetched £12, 1s. The 1598 Chaucer went for 4s. 6d., the *Polyolbion* for the same price; Shakespeare's poems, with three other books, realised one half-crown, and a great bundle of quarto plays, from Dekker's *Converted Courtezan* (1604) to the Restoration versions of *Hamlet* and *Macbeth* (1676) for 3s. 10d. More important than these, and unnoted by Mr. Blades, is the entry 'Geffrey Chaucer's translation of *Boetius de Consolatione Philosophiæ* in English, and printed by Caxton,' the modest price realised being five shillings.

The last but one of our 1678 sales is entered in Cooper's list as that of Gisbet Voet, the eminent Dutch divine, who had died two years previously, aged 87. It was really, however, a sale organised by the bookseller Moses Pitt, and is described as in-

cluding 'the library of a worthy and Learned Person deceased, with a considerable number of the choice books of most sciences, some of which have been bought out of the best libraries abroad, particularly out of the late famous and learned Gisbert Voetius's.' The only entry which need detain us is that of three Caxtons, *Boetius de Consolatione*, Englished, *The Book of the Knight of the Tower*, and Æsop's *Fables*, bracketed together as dated 1483, and knocked down for 7s. 10d.

With Lord Warwick we have the first submission to the hammer of the books of a peer, but in the original catalogue his name is not mentioned, the books being described as those of 'nobilis cujusdam Angli qui ante paucos annos in humanis esse desit.' The noble lord had ceased to be concerned with things human five years before, for, in 1673, his chaplain, Anthony Walker, Rector of Fyfield, preached his funeral sermon, which he afterwards published under the mysterious title of 'Leez Lachrymans, sive comitis Warwici justa.' During his life Lord Warwick was apparently a religious gentleman of no great learning or importance. With Gabriel Sangar, whose books were sold at the same time, we return to the ordinary type of theologian. Like some of his predecessors he too delivered 'Morning Lectures,' but at 'Martins in the Fields,' instead of Cripplegate. Neither the peer nor the preacher seems to have possessed many interesting books. 'A large Church Bible (1613), bound in green velvet, with broad silver embossments on each cover,' was sold for £3, 6s. Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals*, 1613, went for no more than a shilling—perhaps it lacked the engraved title! But the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher fetched £1, 16s. 6d., and Raleigh's

History of the World, 17s. 6d. The most notable point about the sale is the evidence the catalogue affords, that the recent attempt by Moses Pitt to lessen his stock by means of an auction had excited some resentment, for the auctioneer, Nat. Ranew, informs his patrons that this is 'no collection made by any private hand for particular gain (which hath been imputed to some Auctions as a Reflection), but the works were really belonging to their proprietors deceased, mentioned on the title-page, and by the direction of their respective executors exposed to sale.'

9. M. Moses Pit, e theatro Oxon, Feb. 24, $167\frac{8}{9}$.
10. M. St. Watkins,
    D. Th. Shirley,
    Append. Rich. Chiswel, } Jun. 2, 1679.
11. Sir Edw. Bish, Nov. 15, 1679.

The first entry for 1679 shows us that, despite the reflections of Ranew, Pitt made another attempt to reduce his stock by way of auction. But his best books had been sold in the previous November, and the highest price realised in this sale seems to have been no more than 13s. 10d. Of Mr. Stephen Watkins I can only find that he, at times, conducted the morning exercise at Cripplegate. Thomas Shirley was a doctor, not of theology, but of medicine, and four years before had given rise to a case of privilege in the House of Lords, on which Lord Shaftesbury had spoken. Richard Chiswell was a bookseller. The three between them possessed no very remarkable books. The best prices were a *Concilia cum apparatu*, £15, 5s., a *Biblia Maxima* (1660), £10, 5s., a *Chrysostom*, £8 7s., and Dugdale's *Monasticon*, £7, 4s.

The Bysshe sale was naturally more important.

The date which Cooper assigns to it appears to be a mistake, for 'that very learned Gentleman and great Antiquary, Sr. Edward Bysshe, Clarencieux, King of Armes' (we quote the catalogue), did not die until December 15, 1677, or a month after his books are said to have been sold. His library was of an unusually diversified character, containing not only the usual classical works, and reference books on heraldry, but a considerable amount of French, Italian, and Spanish literature, including some early editions of Molière. Among the English books we find the usual *Chaucer* of 1602 (£1, 3s.), *Beaumont and Fletcher*, 1647 (13s. 6d.), *Ben Jonson*, 1640 (£1, 10s.), Spenser's *Fairie Queen* of 1611 (6s. 2d.), Drayton's *Polyolbion*, 1622 (12s.), Milton's *Paradise Lost*, 1669, and *Paradise Regained*, 1671 (3s. 2d. each), but no Shakespeares. According to the auctioneer's preface, the books in this sale were deserving especial attention as 'curiously bound and richly gilt.'

12. M. Joh. Edwin, Bibl. cum append. D. Dan. Mar. 29, 1680.
13. Sir Ken. Digby, April 19, 1680.
14. M. St. Charnock, Oct. 4, 1680.
15. D. Th. Watson, Oct. 8, 1680.
16. M. Abell Roper, Bibl., Nov. 22, 1680.
17. D. H. Stubb,
    D. Dillingham,
    D. Th. Vincent,
    D. Cawton,
    M. Jo. Dunton,
    } Nov. 29, 1680.

Only one of the sales for 1680 need detain us long. Edwin and Roper were in the trade, the latter being the author of the tract entitled 'Terrible fight between Tom Brown the poet and a bookseller.' Charnock and Watson were among the

Cripplegate preachers, the latter was Master of the Charterhouse, and the former enjoyed, as late as 1815, the distinction of having his works reprinted in nine volumes! H. Stubb was not Henry Stubbe of Christ Church, the pugnacious member of the Royal Society, but belonged to Magdalen Hall, and had his funeral sermon preached for him by Baxter. Dillingham was the incumbent of Oundle in Northamptonshire, and brother of Thomas Dillingham, the Latin verse writer. Vincent was a plucky divine, noted for having preached regularly throughout the Plague, of which and the Great Fire he published a curious account. Thomas Cawton was a graduate of Merton, and acted as domestic chaplain in various families. M. Jo. Dunton we must identify with the Rector of Aston Clinton, the father of the well-known bookseller. Doubtless, as the auctioneer remarked of the last batch of them, the names of these divines were long 'preserved in the breasts of all that value real Goodness and unfeigned Piety'; but their books were dull, and, as the catalogues of them which I have seen lack even the amusement to be obtained from old prices, we need not linger over them.

Of much more interest than these theological sales, is that of the books of Sir Kenelm Digby, if only for the little mystery which surrounds it. Here again Cooper's entry is inaccurate, for the description given in the catalogue tells us that the books consist 'principally of the Library of the Right Honourable George, late Earl of Bristol, a great part of which were the curiosities collected by the learned Sr. Kenelme Digby: together with the library of another Learned person.' We have thus in one catalogue the books of three

different owners, and how many of them ever belonged to Sir Kenelm is not easy to decide. His first library was bequeathed to him in 1630 by Thomas Allen, and four years later he presented the manuscripts thus acquired to the Bodleian Library, where they still rest. His second library is said to have been burned by the Roundheads in the war. On his death in London in 1665, his third collection, which he had formed during his residence in Paris, was confiscated by the French king, in virtue of the *droit d'aubaine*, and sold by auction, it is said, for 60,000 livres. Sixteen volumes, beautifully bound in red morocco and bearing his arms, are preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and a list of these is given by M. Léopold Delisle in his interesting monograph, *Sir Kenelm Digby et les anciens rapports des Bibliothèques françaises avec la Grande Bretagne.* According to M. Delisle, they all appear to have reached the national library as a result of the confiscations during the French Revolution, and it seems probable that the great bulk of the books Digby collected in France remained in the hands of French bookmen, though it has been confidently asserted that the Earl of Bristol ransomed them from the French King. Notes of books being bound 'corio turcico' are not infrequent in the English sale catalogues at which we are looking, and the occurrence of only two of these in this sale, the rarity in England of books bearing Sir Kenelm's arms, and the fact that the whole collection only realised a little over £900, makes it improbable that many, if any, of the masterpieces of Le Gascon were here offered to English purchasers. But Sir Kenelm seems to have belonged to that noble class of bookmen, who gather books round

them wherever they may be, and the numerous works on chemistry, medicine, and astrology which the catalogue records, were probably of his collecting. We may note also the occurrence of some of the philosophical works of Digby's friend, Thomas White, and of the examination by Ross, the master of the Southampton Grammar School, of his *Discourses of the Nature of Bodies*. The theological works are hardly likely to have been Digby's, as most of them are obviously Protestant, but the numerous books in French, Italian, and Spanish probably came from his library. The English books are a representative collection, including the usual Chaucers, Beaumont and Fletcher, Ben Jonson and Shakespeare (2nd folio), and we have no means of guessing to which of the three owners they originally belonged.

ALFRED W. POLLARD.

ÿrieleyson
pēleyson
ÿrieleyson.
ſc̄ audinos.

BIBLIOGRAPHICA

ENGLISH ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS

FROM THE TWELFTH TO THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

THE changes wrought in England by the Norman Conquest, which at this distance of time appear to us in many respects so abrupt, are in no department more marked than in that of the production of manuscripts, whether in their character of writing or in their style of ornamentation. The abrupt suddenness of the change is perhaps more apparent than real. If we examine the English manuscripts of the eleventh century we find that the influence of the handwriting of the continent had already manifested itself on this side of the Channel long before the invasion of England was dreamt of; and there is no difficulty in believing that, even if that invasion had never taken place, the handwriting of English scribes would in course of time have gradually developed on the lines into which it was more hurriedly forced by the transfer of power to the Normans. That there was, however, a marked change wrought by the Conquest will not be disputed. The number of MSS. of this period which have descended to us is quite large enough to satisfy us on this point.

With regard to the ornamentation of manuscripts we have unfortunately only a scanty amount of material by which to form an opinion; but judging from what remains, and following the analogy of the course of the handwriting, there can be little doubt that the change in style was here also very decided.

The change was an advantage and gain to English draughtsmanship. The grafting of the foreign style on the outline-drawing of the Anglo-Saxon school, which we have described in a former article, certainly lent to the latter a strength which checked the affectation towards which it was tending. Without this foreign infusion, the figures of the Anglo-Saxon draughtsman would probably have been subject to increasing exaggeration of their leading characteristics and have ended in being mere grotesques. On the other hand, the fine free-hand drawing, which actually resulted from the combination of the English and Norman schools, is a conspicuous feature in manuscripts ornamented in England during the next three centuries; and we may trace the favour shown to this style of drawing in our country to the success with which outline-drawing had been so long practised under the Anglo-Saxon kings.

But, besides artistic draughtsmanship which had scope for its efforts in the paintings or miniatures of the manuscript, there is that other side of book-ornamentation which, all through the progress of the art in the Middle Ages, runs with it, generally subordinate, but sometimes even excelling the miniature-drawing, namely, the purely decorative side, as seen in the border and the initial letter. The skill required for this department was of a more mechanical nature than that which the miniature

demanded; and, although the fertile invention of the decorator and his facile dexterity in execution are often marvellous, the draughtsman of the miniature was usually an artist of a higher order. At first the distinction is not so great, drawing and decoration would be executed by the same hand; but in the later Middle Ages the two branches were quite separate and were cultivated by different classes of artists. We must not lose sight of this fact in estimating the character of the manuscripts which pass in review before us.

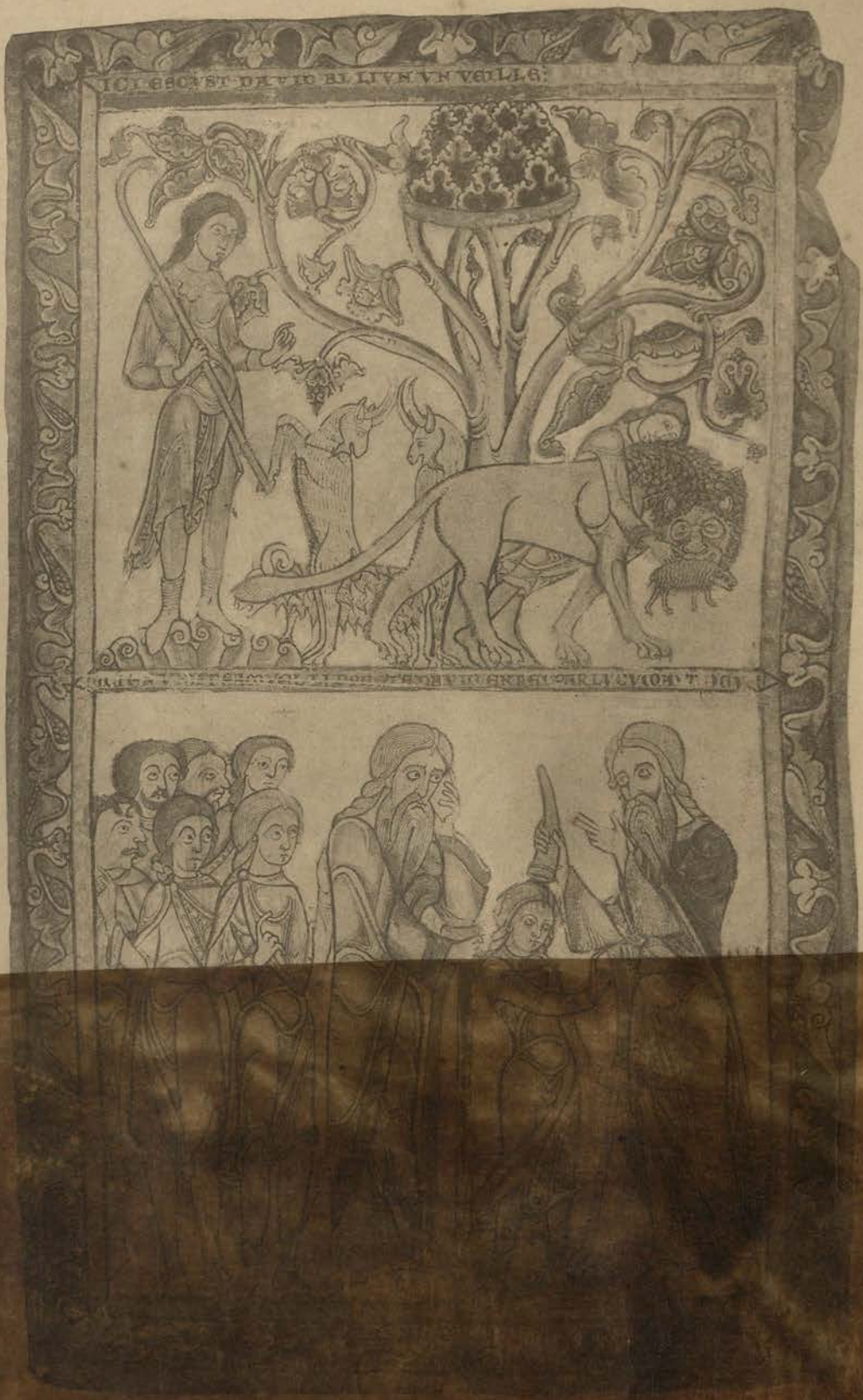
In the nature of things, illuminated manuscripts, which, like all other works of art, were scarcely to be produced but under peaceful conditions, could have been executed in no great numbers at a period when so many changes were in progress as after the Norman Conquest. That few should have been handed down to us from this time is no great wonder. It was probably only in the great monasteries that there existed the skill and means for their production; and when we bear in mind the destruction and loss which attended the dispersion of the monastic libraries at the time of the suppression of the monasteries, we may deem it a happy accident that we possess even such few examples as exist.

We must begin our review some hundred years after the date of the Conquest, first taking in our hands two manuscripts of a typical character, the one coming from the old Anglo-Saxon capital and seat of art and literature, Winchester, the other from the later founded house of Westminster, where the new foreign influence more strongly prevailed.

The first of these two manuscripts is in the Cottonian collection of the British Museum, and bears the press-number, Nero C. iv. It contains

the Psalter, written in Latin and Norman-French in parallel columns, perhaps soon after the middle of the twelfth century. From entries in the accompanying calendar and a reference in one of the prayers, we ascertain that the place of its origin was the monastery of St. Swithun at Winchester, and that it became the property of the nuns of Shaftesbury Abbey in Dorsetshire not long after its completion. The part of the volume which now concerns us is a series of miniatures which precede the text and which illustrate the scheme of the Redemption, traced from the Fall of Man, through the Deluge, the Patriarchs, the life of Joseph, the giving of the Law, the life of David and of Christ, to the Last Judgment. These drawings are very remarkable in style, and the fact of our knowing the place where they were executed renders them particularly valuable as being specimens of the school which had formerly produced so many magnificent examples of Anglo-Saxon illumination. The contrast between them and such a series as that contained in the Benedictional of St. Æthelwold (see above, p. 150) is sufficiently marked in general character. The delicacy of the older drawings gives place to a bolder and stronger style; and yet in details we may trace affinities which show that the traditions of a hundred years of earlier date still influenced the artists of Winchester in the days of the early Plantagenets.

The miniature which has been selected for reproduction (Plate 1 [17]) on a reduced scale represents two scenes: David delivering the lamb from the lion's mouth; and Samuel anointing David. In the first, David tending his flock stands on the left, on the right he is seen rescuing the lamb; the repetition of the principal figure in different actions



being, it is hardly necessary to remind the reader, not unusual in mediæval art. The tree which fills the background, with its curiously close-packed top of foliage and its wide-spreading branches, is not the least interesting feature in the scene, for in it (as also, to some extent, in the leafage of the border) we can recognise a connection with the luxuriant leaf-ornamentation of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts of the southern school. And, before dismissing the scene, we may note an instance of the survival of the memory of early classical models in the attitude of the two dancing kids. 'Ici escust David al liun un veille,' is the Norman-French title. In the second scene David, the youngest (and therefore here represented as very decidedly the smallest) of the sons of Jesse, is anointed king by Samuel in the presence of his father and his brethren: 'Ici enunist Samuel li prophete David en rei par ly cumant Deu.'

The most distinctive characteristic of the drawing of this series of illustrations lies in the treatment of the drapery, which clings to the limbs and indicates their outlines in a very forcible manner. This peculiarity is to some degree observable in the MSS. of the Anglo-Saxon period, as, for instance, in the Benedictional of St. Æthelwold, and may perhaps be a special mark of the style of the Winchester school of the twelfth century, for we find it again in the drawings in the great Bible of that time, still preserved in the Chapter Library of Winchester (see *Facsimiles* of the Palæographical Society, Series II., Plates 166, 167). Another survival of the older school is found in the liberal application of gilding. In the page before us, the narrow frame on which the titles are inscribed, the borders of some of the robes and the personal

ornaments, David's crook (in the upper scene), Samuel's horn, and details of the foliage of the tree are gilt with dull gold, and the same profusion is found in other miniatures of the series. The colours are chiefly different shades of red and green, for the most part lightly washed in. The background was originally painted light blue, but the colour has almost entirely discharged.

The drawing of all the miniatures of the series is not of equal merit; and that which has been selected is one of the best. But, taken as a whole, they afford very remarkable material for the study of that side of English art of the period in which the sentiment of the Anglo-Saxon school was still a not unimportant element. There are, however, among them two paintings which may for a moment engage our attention. They are not English in character; and their presence is not one of the least interesting points in connection with this volume. They are entirely Italian in drawing and in colouring; but how they came to be included in the series we shall never know. They are not mere haphazard insertions; but, as appears from their setting and the Norman-French titles written as in the English drawings of the series, they were executed expressly for the book. Who could have been the artist? Was he an Englishman who had dwelt in Italy and had been trained as an artist in the Italian school? Or are they the work of some Italian monk or traveller who made return for the hospitality of the house of St. Swithun by leaving behind him these testimonies of his artistic skill? Who shall decide? The one drawing represents the Death of the Virgin, the other her Enthronement; and both are remarkable for the excellence and bold character of their execution. When we

bear in mind how few examples of painting of this description are to be found in Italian manuscripts of the period of the twelfth century, we can scarcely rate too high the value of our two miniatures for the history of Italian book-decoration. Even if they should be the work of an English artist who had studied in Italy, their witness to the high standard of the miniaturist's art in that country, which we might otherwise scarcely suspect, is equally good.

While we might expect to find, at such a centre of Anglo-Saxon art as Winchester had been, the influence of the older style still prevailing, as in the case of the manuscript which we have just been considering, the decided change in illumination to which we have referred above as the result of the Norman Conquest is manifest in examples produced in places where contact with foreign art was more frequent. Thus, as early as the twelfth century, we already experience, in not a few instances, a difficulty in discriminating between manuscripts ornamented in England and those produced in Northern France or the Netherlands; and every one who has studied the subject knows how this difficulty increases as we proceed through the next century and a half. It is frequently by small indications alone that we can fix the nationality; and these indications are not always marked enough to allow us to judge decisively. This, however, is not to be wondered at, if we bear in mind the close connection of England with the neighbouring countries of the continent at this time, and the continual influx of foreign artists.

We take our next example from an English manuscript of the twelfth century, which has cast off almost all traces of the older Anglo-Saxon

school, and which will bear comparison with Norman work of the period. The manuscript is a very beautiful Psalter in the Old Royal collection in the British Museum, numbered 2 A. xxii. The writing is distinctively English, of that charming type which places the twelfth-century manuscripts of England in the very front rank of caligraphy; and the prominence given in the calendar and prayers to St. Peter and to St. Edward the Confessor would be quite sufficient to show that the volume originated at Westminster, even without its identification by an entry in the inventory of the abbey. It is of the period of the later years of Henry the Second's reign. As is usual with Psalters of this period it has a series of miniatures preceding the text. One of these is here given (Plate 2 [18]) representing the Psalmist playing on the harp. He is clad in three garments: an under-robe of white shaded with blue, which is seen on the forearm and covering the ankles; an upper-robe of pale violet, with a gilt jewelled border at the top and round the open sleeve, and with an orange border round the bottom; and a cloak of pale brown madder lined with ermine and having a gilt jewelled border at the bottom. His shoes are open down the front and disclose stockings of orange; the footstool is chocolate dappled with white. The harp is of straw-yellow. The throne is constructed of various materials, indicated by slate-blue, green, orange, and white; the cushion is orange. The back of the throne is deep ultra-marine, the use of which becomes so prevalent in France in the next century and often determines the nationality of the manuscripts of that country. The background of the niche in which the throne is set is of burnished gold (a material of ornament

2. (XVIII.)

which now begins to make its appearance) which, however, has flaked off in part; and the cornice is of white, shaded with pale green, the brick-work of the two corners being slate-blue. The features are pallid, and are worked up with white, applied in a thick pigment; the hair is brown. This treatment of the features we are inclined to accept as a mark of English work; and it is very observable in the illumination of manuscripts of this country at a later time. We should also point to the peculiar salmon pink colour of the outer border, worked with a leaf-design in white, as an indication of English origin; and also in particular to the thin line of green with which this border is edged. Green-edging is very prevalent in English illumination of this period.

The drawing of this miniature is in the broad style characteristic of its period; and the same breadth of treatment is to be observed in the details of merely decorative designs, as initial letters and borders. In the larger manuscripts of the twelfth century we find numerous examples of initials of unusually grand dimensions, formed of interlacing and twining patterns, in which foliage on a bold scale occupies a prominent part, while animals of various kinds play among the branches. As the century advances these large initials become more refined in their details, preparing us for the delicately minute work of the next century.

The contrast, indeed, between the broad style of the twelfth century and the minute style of the thirteenth century is so striking that we are apt to think the change more sudden than perhaps it really was. It is true, however, that the period of transition was not very extended, and the rapid and general disuse of large volumes and the

adoption of a smaller scale, particularly for the multitudes of Bibles which were produced in the thirteenth century, affected the art of illumination in a remarkable degree. It is from the period of the latter part of the twelfth century that we have a steady and continuous development of the initial, the border, and the miniature connected with the initial and border, running through the next three centuries. All that had been done in book-decoration previous to this time belongs to what we may call the older school. Illumination now takes a new departure; and the reign of brilliant colouring and highly burnished gold commences. In fact, the term illumination is now appropriately applied in reference to the highly decorative art which is henceforth practised through the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries.

Plate 3 [19] represents a page of a Latin Bible of about the middle of the thirteenth century, now the Royal MS. I. D. I in the British Museum. The scribe has given his name, Willelmus Devoniensis; but there is no indication how or whence the volume passed into the Royal Library. It is a very beautiful manuscript, written on fine vellum in a perfect style of penmanship, and decorated with miniatures and numerous initials, all executed with great skill in rich colours and burnished gold. The large initial P of the plate has a stem composed of three bands of gold, blue, and lake respectively, relieved with patterns in white; and the bow of the letter is filled with diapered work on a ground of lake. The Apostle Paul wears an under-robe of vermilion and an upper-robe of blue lined with green. The sheath of his sword, which is placed across his shoulder, hilt upwards, is of gold; and he holds

nomina sunt in libro uite. Gaudete in domino semper. rursum dico gaudete. Modestia uestra nota sit omnibus hominibus. Dominus prope est. Nichil solliciti sitis. sed in omni oratione et obsecratione cum gratiarum actione petitiones uestre innotescant apud deum. Et pax dei que exsuperat omnem sensum custodiat corda uestra et intelligentias uestras in xpo ihesu domino nro. De cetero fres quecumque sunt uera. quecumque pudica. quecumque iusta. quecumque sca. quecumque amabilia. quecumque bone fame. si qua uirtus si qua laus discipline. hec cogitate que didicistis. et accepistis. et audistis. et uidistis in me. hec agite. et deus pacis erit uobiscum. Gauisus sum autem in domino uehementer quia tandem aliquando refloruistis pro me sentire. sic et sentiebatis. occupati autem eratis non ut propter penuriam dico. ego enim didici in quibus sum sufficiens esse. scio et humiliari scio et habundare. ubique et in omnibus instructus sum et saciari et esurire. habundare et penuriam pati. Omnia possum in eo qui me confortat. Ymmo bene fecistis communicantes tribulationi mee. scitis autem et uos philippenses quia in principio euangelii quando profectus sum a macedonia nulla mihi ecclesia communicauit in ratione dati et accepti nisi uos solui. quia et thesalonicam semel. et bis in usum mihi

Colocenses et hii sicut laodicenses sunt asiani. et ipi pseudo apli. nec ad hoc accessit ipse apls. sed et hos per epistolam corrigit. audierunt enim uerbum ab archippo. qui et ministerium in eos accepit. Ergo apls scribit eis iam ligatus ab epheso primum cum diacone. et communem onesimum. epla pauli ad colocenses.

Paulus apls xpi ihu per uoluntatem dei et timothe⁹ frater qui sunt colosis scis et fidelibus fribus in xpo ihesu. gratia uobis et pax a deo patre nro et domino ihu xpo. Gratias agimus deo et patri domini nri ihu xpi semper pro uobis orantes audientes fidem uestram in xpo ihu. et dilectionem quam habetis in omnes scos propter spem que reposita est uobis in celis. quam audistis in uerbo ueritatis euangelii quod peruenit ad uos sicut et in uniuerso mundo est et fructificat et crescit sicut in uobis ex die quo audistis et cognouistis gratiam dei in ueritate sicut didicistis ab epafra karissimo conseruo nro qui est fidelis pro uobis minister christi ihu qui

unfolded the scroll of his Epistle to the Colossians. Green, blue, red, lake, and gold are employed in the finials of the letter; and also compose the initial C of the prologue and its pendant.

In the large initial we have an example of the combination of the miniature with the initial and partial border, a combination which is typical of book-decoration of the thirteenth century. In manuscripts of earlier periods the miniature was a painting which usually occupied a page independently of the text, as, for example, in the psalters which have provided the two plates which have just been presented to the reader; or, if inserted in the text, it was not connected with the decoration of the page. It was in fact an illustration and nothing more. But now, while the miniature is still employed in this manner independently of the text, the miniature-initial also comes into common use, the miniature therein, however, continuing to hold for some time a subordinate place as a decorative rather than as an illustrative feature. In course of time, with the growth of the border, the twofold function of the miniature as a means of illustration, and also of decoration, is satisfied by allowing it to occupy part or even the whole of a page as an independent picture, but at the same time set in the border which has developed from the pendant of the initial. This development of the border it is extremely interesting to follow; and so regular is its growth, and so marked are the national characteristics which it assumes, that the period and place of origin of an illuminated manuscript may often be accurately determined from the details of its borders alone.

In the plate before us we see that the pendants or finials of the initials are simple in style and

restricted in extent, and that they terminate in simple buds or cusps. In the next stage, characteristic generally of the fourteenth century, the pendants put out branches, and the buds grow into leaves; and thus, gradually extending, the border finally surrounds the entire page.

We have already referred to the difficulty which is often experienced of pronouncing decisively on the nationality of illuminations of this time produced in England and the neighbouring continental countries. With respect to the particular manuscript which we are considering, and having regard to the decoration alone, the general style closely follows the methods of the school of Northern France; but we should adjudge the volume to England, chiefly on account of the large employment of lake, a favourite colour with English artists of this time, and partly on account of the quality of the gold. That metal, it has been observed, as used in French manuscripts, rather inclines towards a copper tint, which is never discernible in the illuminations of this country.

The drawing of the little figures and details in the initials of the thirteenth century is, in general, remarkably fine and clean. The features of the human face are indicated by very light pen-lines alone without any attempt at modelling. Consequently there is a certain meagreness of aspect and tendency to over-refinement; which, however, is perfectly in keeping with the minute character of the decoration generally. Though we may not rate illuminations of this style and period as artistic productions so highly as those which succeeded them, yet the effect which they produce is always pleasing, and we never cease to admire the invention and ingenuity which the thirteenth century artist

Plenum os maledictione et amaritudine
plenum est: ueloces pedes eorum ad effundendum
sanguinem
Contritio et infelicitas in uijs eorum: et uiam
pacis non cognouerunt: non est timor dei an
te oculos eorum
Nonne cognoscent omnes qui operantur in
iniquitatem: qui deuorant plebem meam si
cut escam panis
Omnium non inuocauerunt: illic trepidauer
unt timore: ubi non erat timor
Quoniam dominus in generatione iusta est
consilium inopis confudistis: quoniam domi
nus spes eius est
Quis dabit ex syon salutare israel: cum auer
terit dominus captiuitatem plebis sue exulta
bit iacob et letabitur israel
Domine quis habitabit in tabernaculo
tuo: aut quis requiescet in mõte scõ tuo.
Qui ingreditur sine macula: et operatur iusticã.
Qui loquitur ueritatem in corde suo: qui nõ
egit dolum in lingua sua
Nec fecit proximo suo malum: et obprobriũ
non accepit aduersus proximos suos

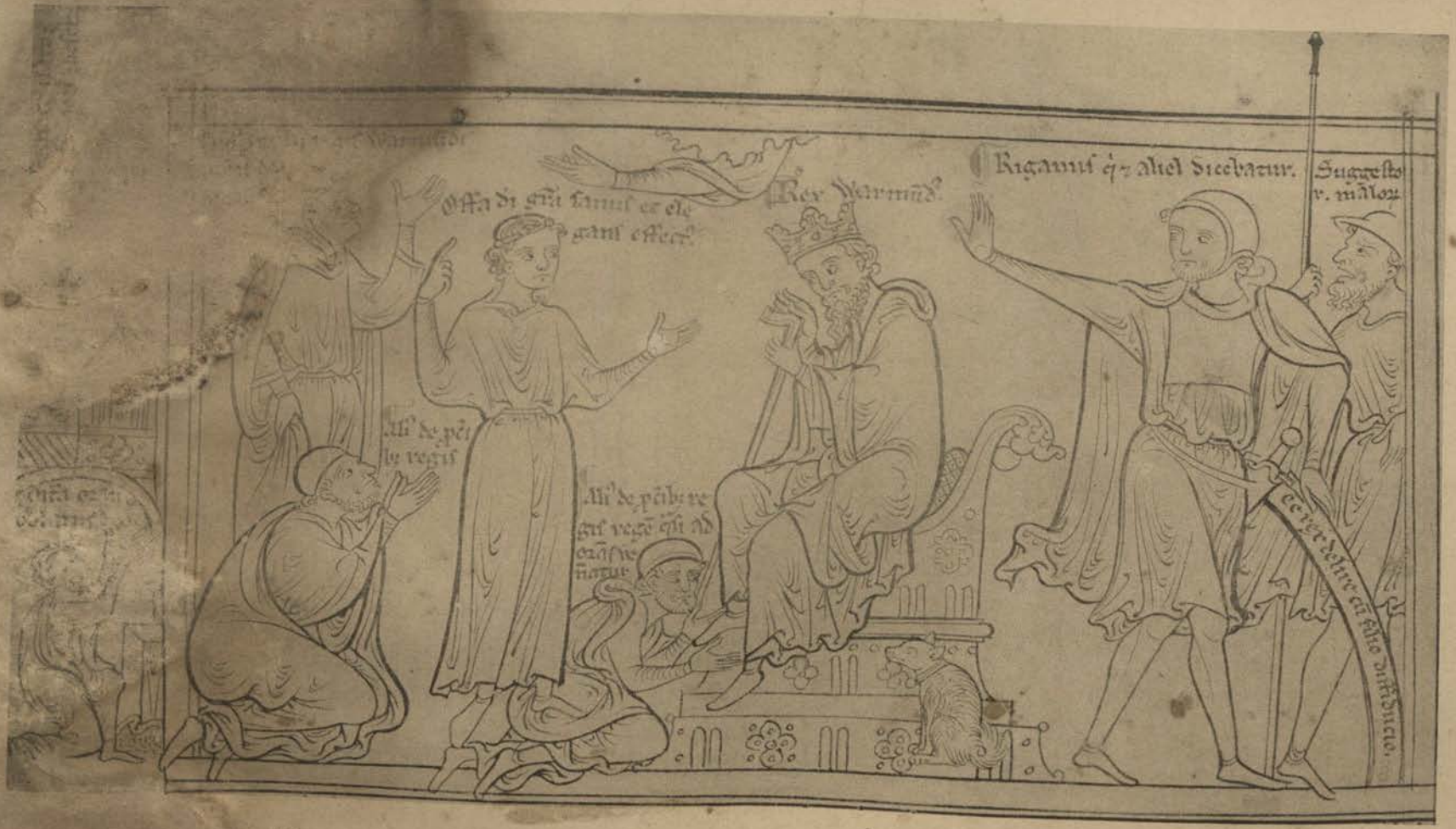
displays in filling to the best advantage the circumscribed spaces which the fashion of the day left at his disposal in the texts and margins of manuscripts.

As the century proceeds we are sensible of an expansion in style. As the handwriting gradually relaxes its severe stiff character and assumes a certain roundness and pliancy in its strokes, so the rather rigid drawing of the middle of the century begins to bend into those more yielding lines which are typical of the art of the fourteenth century. Our next example is selected, as an instance of highly-finished decoration of the later half of the thirteenth century, from the Additional MS. 24686 in the British Museum, known as the Tenison Psalter, from its having once formed part of the library of Archbishop Tenison. This Psalter is one of the most beautiful illuminated English manuscripts of its time, but unfortunately only in part, for it was not finished in the perfect style in which it was begun. The whole book is illuminated, but in the first quire of the text the ornamentation is of peculiar beauty and differs in style from that of the rest of the volume. It appears, from the evidence of coats of arms and other indications, to have been undertaken as a royal gift on the intended marriage of Alphonso, son of King Edward the First, with a daughter of Florent, Count of Holland, which, however, was never accomplished owing to the young prince's death in the year 1284. The book was afterwards finished in an inferior style, and was probably given to the princess Elizabeth, fourth daughter of Edward the First, who was married successively to John, Count of Holland, and Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Constable of England.

In Plate 4 [20] is produced one of the pages of the quire ornamented for Alphonso; and the progress of the art, when compared with that of William of Devon's Bible, is at once manifest. There is more freedom in the drawing, the stiffness of the earlier examples is in great measure overcome; and the pendant has thrown out a branch which has already put forth leaves. A great variety of colours, blue, rose, vermilion, lake, green, brown, as well as burnished gold, is employed in the composition of the large initial and its accompanying pendant and border; and the small initials are of gold laid on a ground of blue or lake, and filled with lake or blue; while the ribbons which fill up the spaces at the ends of the verses are alternately of the same colours and are decorated with patterns in silver on the blue and in gold on the lake.

The group of the dismounted knight despatching a gryphon, which has proved too much for the horse, upon whose dying body the expectant raven has already perched, is tinted in lighter colours. It is an instance of the use to which marginal space was frequently put, particularly by English artists, for the introduction of little scenes, such as episodes in romances or stories, games, grotesque combats, social scenes, etc., often drawn with a light free hand and most artistic touch. Without these little sketches, much of the manners and customs, dress, and daily life of our ancestors would have remained for ever unknown to us.

In connection with this free style of drawing just referred to, we must for a moment turn from the subject of illumination to cast an eye upon its employment for the main illustration in manuscripts of a character not necessarily needing the



5. (XXI.)

artistic treatment of such choice books as the Bibles and Psalters which form the bulk of illuminated manuscripts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In the Winchester Psalter described above we had examples of the bold style which was the result of Norman influence upon the native school of drawing of that place. From the dearth of material we cannot unfortunately follow the course of its development; but that free outline-drawing was cultivated as a means of illustration of historical books, whether sacred or profane, is quite certain, as is proved by such examples as we have. One of the monasteries best known to us for the production of its manuscripts was St. Albans Abbey; and the man who, above all others, is famous for his work there, both as a writer and as an artist, was the monk, Matthew Paris. Some have doubted whether all the manuscripts which have been ascribed to him could have been the work of one pair of hands, and whether they should not be pronounced to be the productions of a school rather than of an individual. Be that as it may, the fact remains that we have a number of volumes written in one style, if not by one hand, and, accompanying several of them, very well-executed drawings of an illustrative character.

Plate 5 [21] is taken from a scene in Matthew Paris' *Life of Offa*, in the Cottonian MS. Nero D. i. The drawing represents a scene from the Life of Offa, king of Mercia, the founder of St. Albans Abbey. The son of Wærmund, king of the Angles, he was born blind and dumb, and, although at the age of seven he received his sight, he still remained a mute. On the left margin, the child Offa kneels in prayer before the altar within

a church: 'Offa orans et oblatus Deo'; his afflictions being told in two hexameter lines:

'Ve, ve, quo fato regali stem[m]áte nato,
Os michi mutescit, oculorum lumen ebescit.'

At the age of thirty he was still incapable of speech, and the king was growing old; and the people grew uneasy at the prospect of a dumb man sitting on the throne. This was the opportunity of the traitor Rigan, one of the nobles, who put forward a claim to the throne and gathered his followers. In a truce that was arranged a great council was held for many days, and on the last day Offa was present; and in his grief his heart was so moved that his tongue was loosed and he spake boldly before the wise men. Here King 'Warmundus' sits in state upon his throne; before him Offa, by the grace of God, Whose protecting arm is outstretched from heaven, stands 'sanus et elegans effectus,' while three of the king's nobles, 'proceres,' offer up praises to God for the miracle. Rigan, 'qui et Aliel dicebatur,' turns away as he defies the king and his son, with the words, 'Te, rex delire, cum filio diffiducio,' in company with an evil-faced follower, a 'suggestor malorum.'

After making due allowance for imperfect knowledge of perspective and faults in proportion, which are common to the time and not characteristic of the individual, no one can fail to admire the boldness of the outlines and the artistic treatment of the drapery; nor can it be denied that the draughtsman, whether Matthew Paris himself or some other worker in the scriptorium of St. Albans, was a capable and skilful illustrator.

We now take leave of the thirteenth century and enter on the period when the art of book-

decoration in England reached its highest standard of excellence. And we commence our review of the work of that period with the very finest manuscript of its kind, probably unique in its combination of excellence of drawing, brilliance of illumination, and extent and variety of subjects.

The Royal MS. 2 B. vii., commonly known as 'Queen Mary's Psalter,' is a thick volume of 320 leaves, of large octavo size, which, as we learn from a note on the last leaf, was on the point of being carried beyond seas when the 'spectatus et honestus vir,' Baldwin Smith, a customs officer in the port of London, wisely laid hands on it and presented it to the Queen in October 1553. It is bound in crimson velvet worked on each cover with a large pomegranate,—the Queen's badge, which had been that of her Spanish mother,—but now much worn; and it has gilt corner plates, and clasp fittings (the clasps themselves no longer exist) engraved respectively with the lion, the dragon, the portcullis, and the fleur-de-lis of the Tudor royal house.

The manuscript is of the beginning of the fourteenth century, executed in the best style of English art of that time. The first fifty-six leaves are occupied by a series of most exquisite miniature drawings, illustrating Bible history from the Creation down to the death of Solomon, and generally arranged two on a page. Each drawing is accompanied with a description in French, sometimes in rhyming verse; and it is to be observed that the narrative is not always strictly confined to the Bible account, but occasionally embodies apocryphal details. Nothing can be more charming than the delicate execution of these drawings, lightly sketched with a perfect touch and exact precision, and very slightly tinted with colours,

violet, green, and brown. Our Plate 6 [22] gives us the two scenes of Joseph making himself known to his brethren, and receiving his father and mother on their arrival in Egypt; but the artist has forgotten that Rachel had died long before. The descriptive titles are as follows:—

'Lors respond ioseph: ne aiez pour: tut de gre lai fet pur vos mesfetz cunustre. Car ioe su Ioseph vostre frere qe vous vendistes a seneschal de Egypte. Lors touz crient mercij. Alez qere nostre pere et nostre mere, car cink auns sunt unkore a venir de grant famine. Car de seht (*i.e.* sept) ne sunt qe deus passez. E il sount alez qere. si les ount a Ioseph lur fiz amenez. dount grant ioie estoit.'

'Icij est Iacob e sa femme amenee en Egypte a Ioseph lur fitz. Comen Ioseph been venie soun pere e sa mere.'

The frame, as in the rest of the series, is composed of simple bands of vermilion, with green quatrefoils at the corners, from each of which springs a stem with three leaves lightly touched with green or violet.

The elegant outline of the figures and the easy flow of the lines of the drapery could have been attained only after long practice by a skilful hand; and we should specially notice, as characteristic of the time, the peculiar sway given to the human figure, which, though perhaps rather affected, is not an unpleasing attitude.

The next division of the manuscript contains the Psalter, with Litany, etc., ornamented with a profusion of miniatures of various scenes from the Life of Christ, followed by a series of the Resurrection and Last Judgment, and figures of the saints and martyrs, besides initials and miniature-initials and borders, all illuminated in the very first style with brilliant colours and burnished gold. The drawing of these miniatures is also of the highest

II.)

excellence; and the general character of the sumptuously decorated pages of this part of the volume may be seen from the coloured Plate 7 [23], which may be pronounced a successful reproduction. It represents the Last Judgment, standing at the commencement of the Litany. In it we have the full miniature within a border, the miniature-initial with its pendants, and the commencement of the text with its own ornament. But, in addition to these highly illuminated miniatures, this portion of the volume has in the lower margins a series of tinted drawings executed in the style of the series of Bible illustrations which occupy the first part. The subjects of these drawings are of a most varied character. Hunting scenes, pictures of animal life, escapades of Reynard the Fox, illustrations of popular stories, dancing groups, tilting scenes, combats of grotesque creatures, sports and pastimes, follow one another in endless variety, and are succeeded by miracles of the Virgin and scenes from the lives and passions of the saints. In the drawing at the foot of the plate, Saul is receiving the letters to Damascus for the persecution of the saints. The possession of such a masterpiece as Queen Mary's Psalter gives us cause to regret that the modesty of the illuminators of the Middle Ages forbade them to append their names to their works.

E. MAUNDE THOMPSON.

THE BIBLIOTHECA MEADIANA

IN that lively and now rather rare little book, the *État des Arts en Angleterre*, its author, the Swiss enameller Rouquet, under the heading 'De la Médicine,' draws an instructive, if somewhat ironic, picture of the eighteenth-century physician of eminence. After enlarging upon his costume, his sword, his ample and well-combed *perruque nouée* ('a physician,' wrote Fielding in 1732, 'can no more prescribe without a full wig than without a fee'), his chariot, his urbanity, and his erudition, Rouquet goes on to note—as a proof of the profundity of the Doctor's scientific acquirements, and of the limited amount still left for him to learn—that he has almost invariably a special pursuit or hobby outside his own profession. 'One busies himself with paintings, antiquities, or prints; the next with natural curiosities in general, or with particular departments of them; some preserve in bottles all the *lusus naturæ* that are discovered or invented; others devote their energies to objects more agreeable, and are "galants." Music, Poetry, the Drama,—each has its charm for these medical *virtuosi*. 'This apparent inattention with which the English practitioners exercise their calling'—the critic continues maliciously—'is sometimes of inestimable value to the patient. Nature, it is suggested, frequently takes advantage of their negligence to exert all her own efforts in effecting a cure.' The sentiment is one in which it is easy to recognise the compatriot of the famous author

of the *Médecin Malgré Lui*; but of the cultivated tastes of the foremost physicians of this country in the first half of the last century (Rouquet's book is dated 1755) there can be no reasonable doubt. Garth and Arbuthnot, for instance, the one by 'The Dispensary,' the other by 'John Bull,' belong almost as much to Literature as to Medicine; and even Sir Richard Blackmore, the much-abused 'Maurus' of Dryden and the wits at Will's Coffee-house, if he cannot be put forward as a lettered luminary of the first magnitude, may at least be quoted as a productive case in point. Fat Dr. Cheyne again—Gay's 'Cheney huge of size'—was a scholar; and, both before and after his milk regimen, as great a humorist as Falstaff; while Freind and Woodward were not only writers, but also book-lovers, who left behind them extensive libraries. Dr. Radcliffe, in the capacity of lady-killer so freely assigned to him in the *Tatler* and elsewhere, should perhaps be classed primarily with those whose distractions were amatory rather than æsthetic, but, on the other hand, as founder of the great university library which bears his name, he certainly rendered essential service to literature. It is probable, however, that Rouquet had in mind chiefly those twin-stars in the Hippocratic heaven whom Pope has coupled in the line—

'And Books for *Mead*, and Butterflies for *Sloane*.'

Sir Hans Sloane, whom Young dubbed 'the foremost toyman of his time,' and whose monumental urn with its Æsculapian serpents you shall still see beside the rail in Chelsea Churchyard, was an indefatigable hunter after the bibliographical treasures and curiosities which afterwards went to form the nucleus of the British Museum; while Mead, who

died shortly before the *État des Arts* appeared, was not only an almost typical specimen of the 'great Court Galen' of his epoch, but had succeeded, during a prolonged and prosperous career, in bringing together such a show of antiques, coins, and rare volumes as had no contemporary parallel. The coins and antiques scarcely come within the province of 'Bibliographica,' but the books, which in the sale catalogue occupy some two hundred and forty pages, may fairly claim brief notice in this place.

Once a collector, always a collector. To Richard Mead this pleasant vice apparently came early, for it was during his *Wanderjahre* in Italy that he discovered, or rather re-discovered, the famous pseudo-Egyptian records then known as the Mensa or Tabula Isaica, but now discredited as spurious. In the paternal house at Stepney, where he first began to practise; in his houses at Austin- and Crutched-Friars; in the house at Bloomsbury where his predecessor Radcliffe had entertained Eugene in 1712,—the 'Bibliotheca Meadiana' must have been growing as slowly, but as surely, as the fame of Marcellus. Its last and longest home, however, was 49 Great Ormond Street, at the corner of Powis Place, where its owner died. After Mead's death, the house was tenanted by Lord Grey's uncle, Sir Harry Grey. Then, in due course, it was turned into a Hospital for Sick Children, and, as that institution progressed, ultimately gave way to the more imposing building, extending along Powis Place, which now absorbs not only its site, but also that of the adjoining No. 48. Tradition, no less, still speaks of the Hospital's first home as a fine Queen Anne Mansion, with oak staircases and carved chimney-pieces, contrasting strangely

with the rows of tiny cots which, about 1852, began to find their places along its dark wainscoted walls. Dickens, who in 1858 made one of his warm-hearted appeals for funds to aid the good work, spoke picturesquely, and from personal experience, of the airy wards into which its time-honoured state drawing-rooms and family bed-chambers had been converted; and it is to the Children's Hospital at Great Ormond Street that, in company with the toy-horse, the ark, the yellow bird, and the man in the Guards, he carries—too late—the 'little Johnny' of *Our Mutual Friend*.

The Hospital for Sick Children was still domiciled in Mead's 'courtly old house' when little Johnny made that last testamentary disposition of his effects related in the story; and those who now pause before the vast brick and terra cotta structure raised by Barry on the spot, will find it hard to realise that the earlier dwelling to which King George the Second's First Physician in Ordinary moved in 1720, had, at the back, a spacious and secluded garden, and that this garden, again, abutted upon the then wide and green expanse—not yet encumbered by the Foundling—of Red Lion, or Lamb's Conduit, Fields. At the end of the garden, about a dozen years after taking up his residence at No. 49, Mead built a gallery for his overflowing statues and antiques, and here no doubt were located many of his historical treasures, —the statue of Hygeia, afterwards purchased by Askew,—the Antinous for which, notwithstanding its alleged broken nose and repaired condition, Lord Rockingham paid two hundred and thirty pounds, —the Homer that Lord Exeter presented to the British Museum. It is in this garden-gallery that we must conceive its owner discussing antiquities

with Martin Folkes, or 'curios' with Sloane, or Greek particles with Bentley; here, no doubt, he would chaffer with the 'Puffs' and 'Varnishes' of his day over some newly-imported 'black master,' or here, aided by Arbuthnot and *Addison on Medals*,

> '—— judiciously define
> When Pius marks the honorary coin
> Of CARACALLA or of ANTONINE.'

Probably only the rarer books—*e.g.*, the 'Missal said to be illuminated by Raphael and his scholars, which afterwards found a home at Strawberry Hill—were exhibited in the gallery; and it must be assumed that the remainder, which at their owner's death numbered some ten thousand volumes, were dispersed in the library and reception-rooms. What, however, seems indisputable is that Mead was the most accessible and generous of collectors—not usually an accessible or a generous race. Neither Grolier nor Peiresc could have made a more unselfish use of his possessions. He admitted the public freely to his treasures; he would lend his miniatures and pictures to be copied; and he not only allowed his books to be consulted, but he would even allow them to be carried away by deserving students. As a host, he kept open house, and scarcely any foreigner with the faintest reputation for learning visited these shores without paying his respects to the famous physician and connoisseur of Great Ormond Street. A classical scholar in an age of classical scholars; an omnivorous and indefatigable reader; a scientist and an antiquary of distinction; and, with all this, a person to whose native amenity his continental travels and foreign education had superadded a certain cosmopolitan charm of manner—he seems to have

deserved, better than most, the good things that were reported of him. 'Dr. Mead,' said Johnson, 'lived more in the broad sunshine of life than almost any man.' And Hawkins, whose testimonials are seldom unqualified, declares that 'he raised the medical character to such a height of dignity as was never seen in this or any other country.'

When, on Saturday, the 16th February 1754, Dr. Mead died, he was a man of eighty, whose work in the world had been done some years before. His professional gains had been large: in one year, indeed, they are said to have exceeded £7000. But his tastes and his mode of living were on a scale with his means, and as his powers decayed and his practice failed, his income dropped also. Towards the close of his life, one hears, in Walpole and elsewhere, vague rumours of growing embarrassment, and it is not impossible that some of his books (in addition to the Greek MSS. he sold to Askew) were privately disposed of previous to his death. At all events, when he did die, there seems to have been no question of anything but the sale of his library by auction, a step which is the more to be regretted in that his collection, instead of representing exclusively, like the collections of some of his contemporaries, the individual needs or likings of its possessor, was really a systematic attempt at a general ingathering of the best authors of his day. He aimed at the standard and the canonical in every thing; and his library, although it did *not*—as Fielding said—include ever[illegible] rare work quoted in the all-embracing notes of [illegible] 'laborious much-read doctor Zachary Grey' [illegible] *adibras* (for which book, by the way, Mead sup[illegible]ed the portrait of Butler by Gerard Soest), it w[illegible]d, nevertheless,

had it been preserved intact, have remained an excellent specimen of a typical eighteenth-century library. Its dispersal, however, was not to be averted. In November, 1754, it was announced for sale by Samuel Baker of Covent Garden; and the auction, beginning on the 18th November, continued at intervals for twenty-eight nights, terminating on May 8th, 1755. The total amount realised was £5518, 10s. 11d., from which must be subtracted £19, 6s. 6d. for bookcases, leaving a sum of £5499, 4s. 5d.

Sales of rare books by auction would be copiously chronicled in these times. But in the middle of the last century they found scant record; and mention of them, apart from the advertisements, is generally confined to private letters. Horace Walpole spent five days in 1755 at the later sale of Mead's coins and antiques, when he bought, among other things, the 'Raphael Missal' of which mention has already been made; but he does not seem to have invested largely in the earlier sale of books. Indeed, his chief reference to these consists in an expression to the younger Bentley of heartfelt relief that he had *not* been successful in securing the folio *Prospects of Audley End* (Lord Braybrooke's seat at Saffron Walden), by Henry Winstanley of the Eddystone, for which he had given a commission of two or three guineas, whereas it was run up, apparently under some misapprehension, to no less than £50. But Dibdin, who possessed one of the half dozen large paper catalogues, 'uncut and priced,' mentions a few of the rarer items. Of these there were, *on vellum*, copies of the Spira Virgil of 1470; of the first Aldine *Petrarch* of 1501; of Melchior Pfintzing's *Tewrdanckh*, 'pulcherrimis tabulis ab Alberto

Durer [Hans Schaufflein?] ligno incisis ornatum,' 1527 [? 1517]; and of Sebastian Brandt's *Stultifera Navis*, 1498. Other volumes specified by Dibdin are the Abbé d'Olivet's *Cicero*, 1741-42, 9 vols. 4to, 'charta maxima, foliis deauratis,' bought by Askew for fourteen guineas; the first edition of the *Historia Naturalis* of Pliny the Elder, 1469, which found a purchaser in the King of France at eleven guineas; and another edition of the same book by Jenson, 1472, with illuminated initials, which fell, for eighteen guineas, to a bookseller named Willock. This, however, must have been but a merely superficial sampling of Mead's treasures. The number of editions of the classics, of Homer, Horace, Virgil, and Cicero especially, was extraordinary, and many of these were of the utmost interest. 'The French books,' says Dibdin again, 'and all the books upon the *Fine Arts* were of the first rarity and value, and bound in a sumptuous manner.' There were also a large number of MSS. in different languages, and of books with autograph *marginalia* by Scaliger, Casaubon, Wotton, Wren, Hearne, and Mead himself.

Of some previous book collectors, who were also authors, it has been observed that they seemed culpably indifferent to what my Lord Foppington, in *The Relapse*, styles 'the natural sprauts' of their own brains. Dr. Mead must have been wholly exempt from this infirmity. Few, if any, of his productions, one would think, were absent from his shelves, for the majority of them appear in the Catalogue, with all the indications of that most favoured treatment which are conveyed by luxury of margin, gilt edges, and Turkey leather. Mead *de Imperio Solis ac Lunæ*, 1704; Mead *de Peste*, 1720 (his best book); Mead *de Variolis et Morbillis*,

1747; Mead, *Medica Sacra*, 1749; Mead, *Monita et Præcepta Medica*, 1751,—all these occur, not once but often, and in Latin as well as in English versions. There are also many books which, like the *Medicinal Dictionary* of Dr. James, were inscribed or presented to him 'as a man' (in Warburton's words) 'to whom all people that pretend to letters ought to pay their tribute'; and there are others which owe their very existence entirely to his fostering and munificent care. One of these last is the works of Roger Bacon by Dr. Samuel Jebb, which came out in 1733; another is the *folio* edition of De Thou's *Historia sui Temporis* in seven vols., upon which he employed at first Thomas Carte and then Buckley. 'A finer edition of a valuable historian,' says Dibdin, 'has never seen the light.' He was also, to all appearances, a liberal subscriber to large paper copies, which abound in the record, and he often took more than one. In the case of his friend John Ward's *Lives of the Professors of Gresham College*, he is down for no less than five. It is possible, however, that this particular prodigality was due to an adroit compliment supposed to be paid to him by the author in one of George Vertue's plates. In 1719 Mead had been provoked into a duel with a professional rival, Woodward of the Fossils, and had proved, by overpowering his antagonist, that his sword was no mere decorative appendage. Woodward on his part had not come off badly, for on being bidden to beg for his life, he is alleged to have replied defiantly, 'Never—until I am your patient!' But Woodward had long been dead, when Ward's *folio* was published in 1740, and the physical victory, which remained with Mead, was supposed to be indirectly commemorated at p. 33 by a pair of tiny figures in front of the Gate

into the Stable Yard at Gresham College, one of whom kneels and presents his weapon to the other.

The natural limits of this paper would be far exceeded by any detailed attempt to give an account of Mead's ten thousand volumes. As might be anticipated, his collection was especially rich in medical works of all kinds. Next to these come the classics, of which, over and above the special rarities already mentioned, there is an unusual show of first editions. Theology, Topography, Archæology, History, Law, Voyages, and Travels are all abundantly represented. Nor are *Belles Lettres* neglected, except, it may be, in the item of Fiction, of which, as regards England at least, the solitary specimen is *Tom Jones*. But there are all the *Ana* from Scaliger to Poggio; there are all the Essayists in large paper from the *Tatler* to the *Craftsman*, including even the vamped-up volumes of *Original and Genuine Letters sent to the Tatler and Spectator*, which Charles Lillie, the perfumer, issued in 1725. There are early editions of Froissart and Monstrelet, and of Montaigne: there is an *Eikon Basilike* of 1649; a Surrey's *Songes and Sonnets* of 1585. Of Shakespeare we can only trace a second folio; but there is a Skelton of 1562, a *Faerie Queene* of 1598, a *Colin Clout's come home again* of 1595; there are Earle's *Microcosmography*, and Coryat's *Crudities*, and Maundevile's *Travels*; there is Raleigh's *History of the World*; there is Guicciardini, whose Wars of Pisa the hapless convict in Macaulay found even more unsufferable than the galleys; there is Sanchoniathon, who almost inevitably suggests in his train the 'Man[illegible] Berosus, and Ocellus Lucanus,' with whose sonorous names, at Welbridge Fair, the [illegible]enious Mr.

Ephraim Jenkinson 'bubbled' the ingenuous Dr. Charles Primrose.

After so much gravity, the last items have perhaps an undue air of flippancy. But they serve to remind us in closing, as do not a few titles in Mr. Baker's list, of those books which, unread to-day, save by the antiquary or bibliographer, nevertheless survive vaguely in the memory by their associations with other books. Here, for instance, at p. 122, is Capt. George Shelvocke's *Voyage Round the World by the Way of the Great South Sea*, etc., London, 1726, 8vo. Who now reads Shelvocke? Yet, according to Wordsworth's *Memoirs*, out of Shelvocke's pages, between 'the streights of *le Mair*' and the coast of Chili, flew that historical 'disconsolate black *Albitross*' which plays so essential a part in Coleridge's *Ancient Mariner*. 'I had been reading,' says W. W., 'in Shelvocke's *Voyages* a day or two before, that while doubling Cape Horn, they frequently saw Albatrosses in that latitude, the largest sort of sea-fowl, some extending their wings twelve or thirteen feet. "Suppose," said I, you represent him [Coleridge's 'Old Navigator,' as he was called at first] as having killed one of these birds, and that the tutelary spirits of these regions take upon them to avenge the crime."[1] The incident was thought fit for the purpose, and adopted accordingly.' Here again, at p. 134, is Richard Ligon's *True & Exact History of the Island of Barbadoes*, not the first edition, but the folio of 1673,[2] whence Steele elaborated that touching story of the heartless Inkle and the beautiful

[1] Wordsworth does not say, and perhaps forgot, that the shooting of the Albatross is also in Shelvocke. Hatley, the second Captain, a melancholy, superstitious man, killed it in hopes that its death would bring a fair wind.

[2] The copy in the British Museum belonged to Sir Hans Sloane, and has his autograph.

Yarico which figures in No. 11 of the *Spectator*, and which the younger Colman turned into an opera. 'I was the other Day,' says Steele, 'amusing myself with Ligon's *Account of Barbadoes* [his own first wife, it will be remembered, had been a Barbadian heiress]: and . . . I will give you (as it dwells upon my Memory) out of that honest Traveller, in his fifty-fifth Page, the History of *Inkle* and *Yarico*.' Mead had also Lord Molesworth's *Account of Denmark as it was in the Year* 1692, from which Steele borrowed another 'owre true tale'—the story of Clarinda and Chloe. Both love Philander: Philander loves Chloe. The ladies go in masks with Philander to the theatre; a fire breaks out; Philander saves Clarinda first by mistake, but returns to die with Chloe. The situation is highly dramatic, and Steele depicts it sympathetically. Other books in the catalogue are equally suggestive. Who, for instance, can come upon the quarto numbered 912, the *Institvtiones ac Meditationes in Græcam Lingvam* of the learned Nicolaus Clenardus, Frankfort, 1588, without thinking instantly of Johnson? 'Why, sir,' one almost hears him say to Langton, 'who is there in the Town who knows anything of Clenardus but you and I?'—a question which he might probably repeat to-day with even less chance of contradiction. And so one goes down the list. Baptista Porta *de Humana Physiognomonia*, Vico Equense, fol. 1586. Is not this the Porta of Gay's *Dog and Fox*?—

'Sagacious PORTA'S skill could trace
Some beast or bird in ev'ry face,'—

a feat, by the way, which was also
the late C. H. Bennett. And Quin
pensatory? 'Questionless' (as Mrs.

would say), this must be a 'state' of that very manual from which, in *She Stoops to Conquer*, maternal Mrs. Hardcastle was wont to physic her hopeful Tony Lumpkin. 'I have gone through every receipt in the complete huswife ten times over,' says he reproachfully; 'and you have thoughts of coursing me through *Quincy* next spring.' Then there is Turnbull *on Ancient Painting*, large paper. Alas! all its large paper could not save it from being wheeled, in Hogarth's print of *Beer Street*, to 'Mr. Pastem' the Trunk Maker, cheek by jowl with Hill *on the Royal Society*, and Lauder *on Milton*, both of which also had harbourage on the hospitable shelves at Great Ormond Street. The list is one that might easily be extended; but we have room for only two books more, endeared to us by their connection with Bewick. It was from Francis Barlow's folio *Æsop* that (through Croxall) Bewick borrowed the compositions of many of the *Select Fables* of 1784; and it was in Pierre Belon's *Histoire de la Nature des Oyseaux* ('Belon's very old book,' he calls it), Paris, *In Pingui Gallina*, 1555, that he made some of the preliminary studies for his *Land* and *Water Birds*,—masterpieces which assuredly, had they been published fifty years earlier, would have found an honoured place in the *Bibliotheca Meadiana*.

Under a glass case in the Library of the College of Physicians is the famous gold-headed and crutch-handled cane which, belonging originally to Dr. Radcliffe, passed subsequently to Drs. Mead, Askew, Pitcairn, and Baillie, and was ultimately presented to the College by Baillie's widow. Its chronicles, recorded first by Dr. Macmichael, sometime Registrar of that Institution, have been excellently edited and continued by his successor

Dr. Munk, from whose pages some of the data for the foregoing paper have been derived. In the Censor's Room is another memorial of Mead in the shape of his bust by Roubillac,—a memorial which we owe to the pious care of his friend and disciple Askew. Whether it was executed during Mead's lifetime is not quite clear; but as Roubillac died in 1762, it must certainly have been executed while the memory of his face and features was still fresh in the minds of many of his contemporaries —to say nothing of the fact that, as in the case of Newton, the sculptor may have worked from a death-mask. Moreover, as far back as 1740, Mead had been painted by Allan Ramsay in a portrait which is now in the collection at Bethnal Green, and might well have formed the basis of a bust, even of a later date. But however this may be, there is ample testimony to the fact that the somewhat bent and dignified personage in the furred 'night-gown' and silk cap, with the protruded under-lip which characterises so many eighteenth-century presentments (*e.g.* Fielding's, Gray's, Macklin's), faithfully depicts the Mead of 1750 or thereabouts. 'I,' said the ornithologist Edwards, 'who was as well acquainted with his face as any man living, do pronounce this bust of him to be so like that so often as I see it my mind is filled with the strongest idea of the original.' Dr. Askew, for whom it was carved, gave, if possible, even more unhesitating proof of his approval, since, having agreed with Roubillac for £50, he was so pleased with the result of his labours, that he paid him £100. But here ensues a less intelligible part of the story. Roubillac, it is alleged, was still dissatisfied, and handed in a supplementary account for £8, 2s. which Askew discharged, shillings included, after-

wards 'enclosing the receipt to Hogarth to produce [apparently as a curiosity in extortion] at the next meeting of artists.' This is one of those imperfect and tantalising anecdotes upon which the discreet critic can only postpone judgment indefinitely—'pending the production of further evidence.'

AUSTIN DOBSON.

THE INITIAL BLOCKS OF SOME ITALIAN PRINTERS

I CHANCED some eight or ten years ago upon a byway of bibliography, which I have been surprised to find is practically unknown. That is to say, I have never seen any mention of it in print, and I have only come across one other person who has discovered it for himself. Probably some account of it in these pages will not only be interesting, but may also be the means of ascertaining how far it is known to bibliographical students; for I cannot believe that it has escaped attention so entirely as my own inquiries would seem to indicate.

Most people have doubtless observed the little pictorial initials with which printers were accustomed to decorate their books after the practice of leaving the initials to be ornamented by hand came to an end. Now it will be found that in Italian, and more especially Venetian books, during a period corresponding roughly to the third quarter of the sixteenth century, these are designed on the principle of the work known to most of us in our childhood, which taught us that A was an Archer. It is, I think, hardly too much to say that in every book of what we should now call octavo form, including everything from royal to small crown or foolscap, which issued from any of the Venice presses —with one notable exception—during the period named, the initials will be found to conform to this principle. The house of Aldus, though occasionally adopting the new fashion, *e.g.* in *Poesie Volgari di Lorenzo de' Medici* (1554), seems to have gone on with the old small initials longer than any other. See, for example, *Jacobi Sannazarii opera omnia latine scripta* (1570). Sessa is perhaps another exception; but otherwise, so far as books in my own possession go, the rule is invariable. The fashion began somewhere about 1545. In *Gli Otto Libri di Thucydide Atheniese*, printed by Baldassar de' Costantini, which bears no date of printing, but from the preface of Francesco di Soldo Strozzi, the translator, must have appeared about 1546, occur the first examples of it known to me. The letters are boldly engraved, on blocks $1\frac{3}{8}$ in. square. There are seven of them in all, as follows:—

D. A man in a turban, seated on the ground, a pair of compasses in his right hand and an astrolabe in his left: stars overhead. I do not know of any early astronomer begin[illegible] D);

but I suspect that the mathematician Diophantus of Alexandria is intended.

E. A man in a high-crowned hat, with a sword about to fall vertically on his left shoulder.* I cannot identify him.

I. Two men in large hats, with long beards. One holds an open book. Probably Iudei.

FROM THE *THUCYDIDE*, VENICE (COSTANTINI), 1546 (?)

P. Penelope at her web.

Q. Quintus Curtius jumping into the gulf. This is an almost invariable subject.*

S. Sophonisba drinking poison. Also a favourite.

T. A bound man kneeling; an executioner about to strike his head off. On the left a man on a canopied seat seems to be giving the order. A halberd, a saw, and (apparently) a headless body lie about. Perhaps Tiberius, or merely Tyrannus.

About the same time appears the well-known Gabriele Giolito de' Ferrari, with an *Orlando Furioso* (1546) and *Rime scelte di molti eccellentiss. authori*, in two volumes, of which the prefaces are dated 1546 and 1547 (my edition being of 1549 and 1548 respectively); followed in 1552 by *Varii Componimenti di M. Hort. Lando*, and

* Asterisks indicate those which are reproduced.

in 1559 by *Il Libro del Cortegiano del Conte Baldessar Castiglione*. The *Orlando* has a pretty set of mythological figures, Boreas, Niobe, and so on; but in the others a new set of subjects is introduced, running through them all, and consisting of sports and occupations. Most of them, I regret to say, I cannot identify; but possibly some one more acquainted with Italian terms will be able to do so if I describe them. In the *Rime*, D is a foot-race. In the *Lando*, E is two men holding a rope for a third to jump over. F (*Lando* and *Castiglione*) represents a game apparently combining the features of croquet and lawn-tennis; *i.e.* men are driving balls through hoops with instruments resembling the blades of racquets detached from their handles. L (*Lando*), a duel with two-handed swords. M (*Rime*), men wrestling. N (*Lando* and *Castiglione*), one man holding an object like a wooden bread-pan on the back of another who is lying flat: it looks like some 'humorous and lingering' mode of execution. P (*Lando*), a bare-backed horse-race; possibly Palio. S (*Rime* and *Lando*), a man on horseback, tilting with a spear at a round object attached to a stretched rope; others looking on. Besides these there is in the *Rime* an obvious Actaeon for A, and in the *Castiglione* a probable Archimedes. In the latter there is also for the same letter a group of card-players. Two other blocks are of interest, and one would like to know whether the set to which I imagine they belong could be completed from other works. In the *Rime* A is sometimes a man ploughing; in the *Castiglione* N is a man cutting wood with an axe. At first I was inclined to take the former for Aratro, but it seemed impossible to explain the N, till I found that Peter Crescentius, the great

authority on farming operations, says that wet land should be ploughed in April, and wood cut in November.

Next to Giolito we may take his contemporary Domenico Giglio. There were evidently some, I suspect not friendly, relations between these two. Giglio's mark is a clear imitation of Giolito's, and looks very like a covert satire. However that may be, their initials are quite independent. I have two of Giglio's books, *Petrarch*, with Gesualdo's notes, of 1553, and *I Diporti di M. Girolamo Parabosco*, of 1558. The former are a very fine set, in two sizes, $1\frac{7}{16}$ in. and $\frac{15}{16}$ in. Of the larger the more noteworthy are D, Deianeira (the same subject often does duty for Nessus); L, Hercules throwing Lichas over the cliff; O, Orpheus and Eurydice; Q, Quintus, as usual; S, Solomon; V, Venus. Of the small: P, Pyramus and Thisbe —another universal subject; V, a man walking, a city in the distance (?). In the *Diporti* the blocks are just 1 in. A is Ajax falling on a sword; D, Dido performing the same feat; F, Phrixus crossing the Hellespont; I, two women embracing (?); L, Lot, with the wife very conspicuous in the distance; S, Semele. There is no T in either book; but in an Anthology of *Capitoli*, published by Giglio in 1566, this letter is illustrated by a block of the larger set representing an elderly man seated at table, while a satyr brings (or removes) a dish.

Some of Giglio's blocks seem to have passed into the hands of Nicolo Bevilacqua. In his *Petrarch*, with Vellutello's notes (1563), we find an Ajax, an Eurydice, a Semele, all identical with those in the *Diporti*; the last however seems to have been recut. It must be remembered that

'photo-processes' did not exist in those days, so that when we find two cuts agreeing line for line, we must assume them to have been done from one and the same block. Besides those mentioned,

FROM THE *PETRARCH*, VENICE (BEVILACQUA), 1563

Bevilacqua has a Deucalion, a Neptune,* a Proserpine carried off by Pluto, a Sisyphus, a larger Semele, a Venus, and a Vulcan.* The Deucalion and the Vulcan appear in an *Orlando Furioso* printed by Vincenzo Valgrisi in 1572. That is the date of my copy; but the preface is 1556, so

FROM THE *ORLANDO FURIOSO*, VENICE (VALGRISI), 1572

there are doubtless earlier issues, and Bevilacqua may have been the borrower. It is curious that even in my copies, in which the *Orlando* is certainly the later, the cuts in that look much less

worn than in the *Petrarch*. They only occur at the end of the book, in the five supplementary Cantos. Elsewhere the D is Delilah.* Two other blocks, the Neptune and the Proserpine, have a curious family likeness each to each in the two books; but are distinctly different. Other letters of Valgrisi's are Actaeon, David and Goliath (for G), Jonah being thrown overboard, Latona and the Lydian rustics (Ov. *Met.* vi.)—this subject also occurs in Bevilacqua's *Petrarch*, but the block is again different; Theseus and Minotaur (M); Tityus.

The most complete set that I have is in the *Divina Commedia*, printed in 1554 by G. A. Morando. The blocks are small, about $\frac{7}{8}$ in., but for the most part extremely clear. There is an entire alphabet, except Z, and many letters have more than one picture to them. A is Actaeon; B, Bacchanals; C, Clytie; D, a woman seated with her left hand on the head of a boar; E, a female figure with sceptre in left hand, flying from a wall, and with her right hand touching the head of a crowned man; a man with a staff in the right background; of this a somewhat different version occurs in *Orlando Furioso* (Giolito, 1546). G is a man with a two-wheeled cart, wearing a very broad hat; also a nude woman, seated by water, and stretching her hand towards two figures seen dimly embracing in the water; I, a satyr on the right, on the left a human female, sitting in a constrained attitude. The last four puzzle me completely. Easier ones are N, Nessus; O, Orpheus, usually with lute, once with pipes; P, Pyramus; R, Romulus and Remus; V, Venus. T again is perplexing; a woman is about to strike a prostrate man with what may be either a sword or a stick; another woman is coming up. It may

be the Thracian women with Orpheus, which is certainly the subject for O in Giolito's *Orlando*.

Crescentius, translated and printed by Sansovino (1561), is also very rich in examples. Most of them are obvious; but H (an armed man carrying a woman to a ship) is more than I can decipher. So are two cuts for I. In one we have two satyrs, a large one leading a smaller; in the other, a female winged figure with one foot apparently on a small boat, drawn by a bird, while a figure rises from the water in front. It might be Ino, but why the wings? A third I is elephants with soldiers, no doubt Indi.

Of non-Venetian examples, I have *Cento Giuochi* (Bologna: Giaccarelli, 1551), with a few pretty blocks. C is Hercules and Cacus, represented according to the medieval misconception as a Centaur; G, a man playing panpipes by the sea, in the distance a woman in a cave, probably Galatea, at any rate there is a somewhat similar Polyphemus in Giglio's *Petrarch*; M, a youth playing the fiddle to an armed man (Qy. Musica); S, a fine Semele.

P. Ovidii Nasonis Heroides (Brixiae, apud Ludovicum Britannicum, MDLX.) affords specimens of quite a different set to any of the foregoing. A is Amor (with Apollo); N, Narcissus; I, Icarus.

Ciriffo Calvaneo di Luca Pulci (Florence: Giunti, 1572) has good specimens: Juno, Judith, Leda, Lazarus, Saturn, with a horse's head, in pursuit of Philyra (this subject is used also by Valgrisi), Tityus. Two perplexing ones are, H, two men playing some kind of tennis; and P, reapers in a field, one man holding out a large mug, houses in background.

A friend sends me a Scriptural list from Pulci's *Morgante*, printed at Florence by B. Sermartelli in

1574, comprising Elijah, Jonah,* Goliath, Tobias, Lot, Daniel, Noah, and others. Some, like 'Osea,'* which might puzzle the reader, are kindly explained. Two years later Sermartelli printed the first edition

FROM THE *MORGANTE MAGGIORE*, FLORENCE (SERMARTELLI), 1574

of the *Vita Nuova*, but the fashion had clearly died out, and the initials in that book are only arabesques. It may however have lingered on in some towns remote from the great centres of printing. In *La Nobiltà di Verona di Gio. Francesco Tinto* (Verona: G. Discepolo, 1592) there is a charming set of natural history blocks. A is the eagle (*Aguglia*); B, the basilisk; D, the dragon; E, the elephant; L, the lion; F, the Phœnix; H, the Hippogriff; N, the Kite (*Nibbio*); Q, the quail; S, the Siren; T, the Bull (*Toro*). The blocks are obviously worn, and may probably be met with in some earlier book.

By 1600 the fashion had become extinct in Italy. The blocks sometimes turn up in foreign books, mixed with arabesques and other devices. An Aristotle, Greek and Latin, printed at Geneva by P. de la Rovière in 1605, has a good Scriptural set. Once indeed, I find them again in an Italian

book. A little *Difesa di Dante* by Giuseppe Bianchini (Florence: G. Manni, 1718) has a porcupine (*Istrice*) for I, a kite for N, and a bird, doubtless the green woodpecker (*Rigogolo*), for R. It would be interesting to know how Manni came into possession of these three blocks, the survivors of a long-extinct race.

I have had to omit several interesting examples for want of time and space. Two that specially deserve notice are Matteo Villani (Venice: Guerra ad instanzia dei Giunti, 1562), and Daniello's edition of Dante (P. da Fino, 1568); and no doubt inquirers will find plenty more for themselves.

A. J. BUTLER.

THE SFORZA BOOK OF HOURS

THE Sforza Book of Hours was presented to the British Museum by the late Mr. John Malcolm of Poltalloch shortly before his death last year, and the Trustees have shown their appreciation of the munificent gift by the quickness with which they have issued a really handsome volume in which sixty of the choicest miniatures and borders are excellently reproduced by the autotype process, and prefaced by an admirable introduction by Mr. G. F. Warner. The words 'Diva Bona' and 'Bona Duc[issa]' and the device of a phœnix rising from the flames with the motto, 'sola fata solum Deum sequor,' which occur on some of the borders, show that this most beautiful of prayer-books was prepared for Bona of Savoy, widow of Galeazzo Maria, second Duke of Milan of the House of Sforza, who had been assassinated on Dec. 26, 1476. The Duchess acted as Regent for her son till 1480, when she was ousted by her brother-in-law Ludovico, Il Moro. After a short imprisonment and stay in France she returned to Milan, and took, Mr. Warner tells us, 'a certain part as Duchess-mother in the functions of the court, notably at the marriages of the Duke with Isabel of Arragon in 1489, and of her daughter Bianca Maria with the Emperor Maximilian I. in 1493.' In 1495 she retired to France and after some unhappy years died at Fossano, Nov. 17, 1503. The execution of the *Horæ*, whose illuminations are so notable a specimen of Milanese work, must thus be assigned either to

some date during Bona's regency, or, as their style makes more probable, to one of the years 1483-95, during which she was again at Milan. Between 1487 and 1490 her daughter was betrothed to John Corvinus the destined heir of the book-loving Matthias Corvinus of Hungary, and it is possible that the splendid *Horæ* was intended as a wedding-present likely to raise her in the esteem of her intended father-in-law. The book was either never completed at Milan or else mutilated, for sixteen of the miniatures were added in 1519-21, and are in the finest style of Flemish art. If the decoration had originally been intended for a bride of the Corvinus family, a reason for the removal of any leaves bearing their arms might be found in the hostility with which Matthias was regarded by the Hapsburgs, into whose possession the book passed, probably at Bianca Maria's marriage.

Along with the plates from the *Horæ* itself, reproductions are also given of the borders to the first page of the Grenville copy of the Life of Francesco Sforza Visconti, translated by Landino from the Latin of Simonetta and printed by Zarotto at Milan in 1490. This copy was specially prepared for presentation to Ludovico Il Moro, and the resemblance of the style of its illumination to that of the *Horæ* is so close that it can hardly be doubted that the latter was executed about the same date and partly by the same artist. The Bibliothèque Nationale possesses a slightly inferior *Sforziada* prepared for Gian Galeazzo, and also manuscript written in 1491 of Antonio Mi[illegible] Life of Muzio Sforza Attendolo, illuminated Ludovico, in part, perhaps, by the same artist as the Grenville book. Another example of Milanese work closely in the same style is the manuscript

Donatus in the Trivulziana Library illuminated probably about 1498. Dr. Müller-Walde is of opinion that the beautiful miniatures in this may be assigned to Ambrogio Preda, the reputed author of the portrait of Bianca Maria now in the Brera Gallery, and if this be the case it is possible that Ambrogio may also have had a hand in the book before us, for his connection with the Sforza family had begun at least as early as 1482, when he is described as 'depintore' to Ludovico.

As to the Flemish additions, these appear to have been made by the order of Charles v., who probably inherited the book from Maximilian in the year in which the earliest of them is dated, 1519. His own portrait is introduced into one of the borders, with the monogram K. I., for Karolus Imperator, and the date 1520.

The foregoing brief summary of what is known as to this beautiful book is merely epitomised from Mr. Warner's admirable critical and historical account, which leaves little for me to say in these directions; moreover I should be not a little diffident in entering the field of research after the exhaustive investigations of so accomplished and acute a specialist.

The little I can perhaps add touching the original make of the book I reserve for the concluding lines of this notice.

In the meantime, a brief account of the manner in which I became possessed of this notable art treasure in Spain will, perhaps, be found worth recording. Prior to 1871, when the book came to light, I had made several lengthy expeditions in various parts of the Peninsula. My first acquaintance with the country began in fact about ten years earlier. In 1870 the land route to Spain was virtually closed

by the war, and in 1871, during the German occupation and the second (Communist) siege of Paris, it was only by very roundabout roads that the country betwixt Calais and the Pyrenees could be traversed. However, in October 1871, I made my way to Spain and back again by land, not without some adventures, the most exciting being a carriage drive from Versailles to St. Denis, part of the way along the road outside the fortifications of Paris, with the besieging battery of great guns on Mont Valerien sending shell overhead into the city, and a day spent in St. Denis, where, from the summit of one of the towers of the old abbey, a splendid panorama of the siege was to be seen.

The time was especially propitious for the acquisition of works of art in Spain, for the ubiquitous French dealers were nearly all shut up in the beleaguered city, and their Spanish colleagues were only too eager to welcome any clients who might present themselves in such a time of depression.

One of the most intelligent and altogether worthy persons in Madrid, who at that time occupied themselves with the research for objects of art, was Don José Fallola, landlord or manager of a leading hotel, the Fonda de Paris in Madrid. Fallola was an Italian, but had been long resident in Spain, and was well known and trusted by many highly-placed personages and representatives of ancient Spanish families. In previous years my researches in the country for the South Kensington Museum had been enriched through Fallola's agency by numerous series of interesting and impor acquisitions; things now to be seen dispe amongst the infinite *omnium gatherum* of that wonderful institution, whilst the reasonableness of Don José's ideas of pecuniary value may be

gathered from the label cards appended to them. The palmy days of acquisitions had perhaps almost passed away at the time in question, but the Peninsula was still a rich mine of infinitely varied art treasure, *trouvaille* indeed often of overwhelming importance—great lights, long concealed under bushels, might indeed be revealed at any moment; this Sforza book is an instance in point.

A few days after my arrival in Madrid, whilst stopping at Don José's hotel, that worthy individual confided to me a tale of woe. He said that some months previously a priest one day had brought him a wonderful illuminated manuscript—something overwhelming, *un preciosidad sin ugual*; in short, he rushed at the book, expecting as usual to be able to acquire it for an old song; but the priest also knew its value. He was the agent, probably the family chaplain, of a great personage, who, in the usual custom of Spain, desired to remain incognito. He was commissioned to sell the book for a fixed price, no less than twenty thousand pesetas, or eight hundred pounds sterling. This, however, was too heavy a sum for poor Don José to expend without much consideration; and a period of attempted negotiation, with the view of cheapening the bargain, was entered upon. The owner, however, held firmly to his price and declined to take a single 'maravedi' less than the specified sum, and, finally, Don José made up his mind to give the required thousands. These, in the shape of notes of the bank of Madrid, he one day put into the pocket of his 'capa,' that fine old picturesque brown 'paño pardo' cloak, without which no true Spaniard ever goes into the street in Madrid. Thus attired, he duly sallied out to go to the residence of the priest and conclude the

bargain; unluckily the good father was not at home, and Don José had to return as he went. When he got home, with his mind still full of the book, and not thinking of the notes in the pocket of his cloak, he hung that garment up in the common-room of his own hotel, intending to go again to the priest's house in an hour or two's time, but when the time came and he arrived there for the second time,—when the book was in his hands,—his own in fact, as he thought, the cup was cruelly dashed from his lips at the very moment of anticipated enjoyment, for, on feeling in his pocket for the 20,000 pesetas, lo! they were nowhere to be found; some thief had abstracted them during the brief time that his cloak had been hanging up in his public room. The blow was a crushing one, for the poor Don was by no means a rich man. There was, however, nothing to be done, the thief was never discovered and the book remained unsold.

This story excited me not a little, and I forthwith engaged Don José to get me sight of the ill-omened treasure; this he undertook to do, and the very same evening he brought the priest to my room, when with much ceremony the little corpulent velvet-covered volume was put into my hands. The very first page opened, disclosing two glorious illuminations, blazing with colours and gold, struck me dumb with admiration, but when every page of the book, and there were more than two hundred of them, was revealed equally enriched, the only thought was that it should not again for an instant leave my hands; and literally it did not for luckily I had provided the funds in anticipation and so the bargain was instantly concluded. No entreaty could induce the vendor to give any information as to the previous ownership or history

of the book, although I left no means of persuasion untried. Don José received a handsome gratuity by way of commission from me, and I hope he also extracted something from the owner of the book, though as to that I am very doubtful.

There are, as I have already said, but one or two points on which I can perhaps add any additional light concerning the origin or, rather I should say, the process of production of the book. These have to do with the series of illuminations of Flemish origin, which were added apparently after Bona Sforza had ceased to have any hand in its making. I note that in the illumination, No. 56, in the published photographic illustrations representing the Visitation of the Virgin by St. Elizabeth, the saint is a striking and lifelike portrait of the Duchess Margaret of Austria, the aunt of Charles v., the famous governess of the Netherlands for her nephew at the time of the execution (1521) of these Flemish illuminations.

The countenance of this celebrated lady is too marked and too familiar from numerous portraits in every possible vehicle to leave any ground for mistake as to the identity of the representation, and taken in connection with the cameo portrait of Charles v. in the preceding illumination (No. 57) of the series, it is, I apprehend, a noteworthy fact. This great lady, the daughter of the Emperor Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy, was a noted lover of art and a generous protector of its professors. Albert Durer, indeed, in his Journal during his voyage in Flanders, gives us striking glimpses of her personality in this respect. The question now arises whether these additional illuminations, certainly the work of Flemish artists and very probably executed by the procurance of the Duchess

Margaret, as those of Italian origin had been by the other great lady of Italy, were actually executed in Flanders or in Spain, after the book presumably came into the possession of Charles v. in its unfinished state. At the time in question numerous Flemish artists of all kinds had taken up their abode in the Peninsula, and the national arts of both Spain and Portugal had become strongly influenced by these able foreigners. I have given considerable attention to this cycle of Peninsular art, and am to a considerable extent familiar with the works both of the Spanish artists influenced by these Flemish instructors, and also of the Espanolised Flemings themselves. Naturally there are no certain means of distinguishing the works of one class from those of the other, but generally the true attribution can be discerned from indications more or less convincing. I have examined carefully the Flemish miniatures in this Sforza book with the view of endeavouring to determine this point, and my conclusion is that undoubtedly they are the work of a native Fleming, but I am not so certain whether they were actually executed in Flanders or in Spain. The result is, in any case, of little importance, but I may as well state the fact which has given rise to any doubt in my mind.

This is the point: in the illumination No. 58 in the facsimiles, the Latin inscription at the bottom, which, like all the rest of the series, is in fine Roman characters, shows a notable difference of treatment, and this difference is one of very distinct and characteristic Spanish fashion. The inscription, being too long for a single line in the same sized character, as are the others throughout the book, has been compressed or abbreviated by a peculiar process

of interpenetration, or the running or linking of one letter with that next to it. Now this style of inscription was an universal and very characteristic Spanish fashion, to be seen in hundreds of instances painted, graven, or sculptured, in every possible vehicle in all parts of the Peninsula during the sixteenth and early part of the seventeenth centuries, but, so far as I am aware, is seldom seen in any other country. Slight and indirect as this indication is, and, as I have said, in itself of little moment, it has, I confess, led me to think that it is perhaps a moot point whether the Flemish illuminations were actually executed in Flanders or in Spain.

J. C. ROBINSON.

ON THE ARTISTIC QUALITIES OF THE WOODCUT BOOKS OF ULM AND AUGSBURG IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

THE invention of printing books, and the use of wood-blocks for book ornament in place of hand-painting, though it belongs to the period of the degradation of mediæval art, gave an opportunity to the Germans to regain the place which they had lost in the art of book decoration during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This opportunity they took with vigour and success, and by means of it put forth works which showed the best and most essential qualities of their race. Unhappily, even at the time of their first woodcut book, the beginning of the end was on them; about thirty years afterwards they received the Renaissance with singular eagerness and rapidity, and became, from the artistic point of view, a nation of rhetorical pedants. An exception must be made, however, as to Albert Dürer; for, though his method was infected by the Renaissance, his matchless imagination and intellect made him thoroughly Gothic in spirit.

Amongst the printing localities of Germany the two neighbouring cities of Ulm and Augsburg developed a school of woodcut book ornament second to none as to character, and, I think, more numerously represented than any other. I am obliged to link the two cities, because the early school

at least is common to both; but the ornamented works produced by Ulm are but few compared with the prolific birth of Augsburg.

It is a matter of course that the names of the artists who designed these wood-blocks should not have been recorded, any more than those of the numberless illuminators of the lovely written books of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; the names under which the Ulm and Augsburg picture-books are known are all those of their printers. Of these by far the most distinguished are the kinsmen (their degree of kinship is not known), Gunther Zainer of Augsburg and John Zainer of Ulm. Nearly parallel with these in date are Ludwig Hohenwang and John Bämler of Augsburg, together with Pflanzmann of Augsburg, the printer of the first illustrated German Bible. Anthony Sorg, a little later than these, was a printer somewhat inferior, rather a *reprinter* in fact, but by dint of reusing the old blocks, or getting them recut and in some cases redesigned, not always to their disadvantage, produced some very beautiful books. Schoensperger, who printed right into the sixteenth century, used blocks which were ruder than the earlier ones, through carelessness, and I suppose probably because of the aim at cheapness; his books tend towards the chap-book kind.

The earliest of these picture-books with a date is Gunther Zainer's *Golden Legend*, the first part of which was printed in 1471; but, as the most important from the artistic point of view, I should name: first, Gunther Zainer's *Speculum Humanæ Salvationis* (undated but probably of 1471); second, John Zainer's Boccaccio *De Claris Mulieribus* (dated in a cut, as well as in the colophon, 1473); third, the *Æsop*, printed by both the Zainers, but I do

Archa testam̃ti p̃figauit bt̃az v̄ginē mariā. Exo·xxv
Die arch des altten gesacz hat bedewt Mariam.

FROM GUNTHER ZAINER'S *SPECULUM HUMANÆ SALVATIONIS*, AUGSBURG, c. 1471

FROM GUNTHER ZAINER'S *INGOLD, DAS GOLDEN SPIEL*, AUGSBURG, 1472

not know by which first, as it is undated; fourth, Gunther Zainer's *Spiegel des Menschlichen lebens* (undated but about 1475), with which must be taken his German *Belial*, the cuts of which are undoubtedly designed by the same artist, and cut by the same hand, that cut the best in the *Spiegel* above mentioned; fifth, a beautiful little book, the story of Sigismonda and Guiscard, by Gunther Zainer, undated; sixth, *Tuberinus, die geschicht von Symon*, which is the story of a late German Hugh of Lincoln, printed by G. Zainer about 1475; seventh, John Bämler's *Das buch der Natur* (1475), with many full-page cuts of much interest; eighth, by the same printer, *Das buch von den 7 Todsünden und den 7 Tugenden* (1474); ninth, Bämler's Sprenger's *Rosencranz Bruderschaft*, with only two cuts, but those most remarkable.

To these may be added as transitional (in date at least), between the earlier and the later school next to be mentioned, two really characteristic books printed by Sorg: (*a*) *Der Seusse*, a book of mystical devotion, 1482, and (*b*) the *Council of Constance*, printed in 1483; the latter being, as far as its cuts are concerned, mainly heraldic.

At Ulm, however, a later school arose after a transitional book, Leonard Hol's splendid *Ptolemy* of 1482; of this school one printer's name, Conrad Dinckmut, includes all the most remarkable books: to wit, *Der Seelen-wurzgarten* (1483), *Das buch der Weisheit* (1485), the *Swabian Chronicle* (1486), Terence's *Eunuchus* (in German) (1486). Lastly, John Reger's *Descriptio Obsidionis Rhodiæ* (1496) worthily closes the series of the Ulm books.

It should here be said that, apart from their pictures, the Ulm and Augsburg books are noteworthy for their border and letter decoration. The

INCIPIT · EPISTOLA · FRANCISCI · PETRARCHE · DE · INSIGNI · OBEDIENTIA · ET · FIDE · VXORIA · GRISELDIS · IN · WALTHERVM ·

Librum tuum quem nostro materno eloquio vt opinor olim iuuenis edidisti · nescio quidē vnde vel qualiter ad me delatū vidi · nam si dicā legimētiar · Siquidem ipse magnus valde · vt ad maior · & tempus angustum erat · Idq; ipsum vt nosti vulgus · & soluta scriptus oratione · & occupatio mea bellicis vndiq; motibus inquietū · A quibus etsi animo procul absim : nequeo tamen fluctuante re publica non moueri · Quid ergo · excucurri eū · & festini viatoris impetu · hinc atq; hinc circumspiciens · nec subsistens · animaduerti alicubi · librum ipsum · canumdentibus lacessitum · tuo tamē baculo egregie · tuaq; voce defensū Nec miratus sum · nam et vires ingenii tui noui · & scio expertus esse hominum genus & insolēs & ignanū · qui quicquid ipsi · vel nolunt · vel nesciunt · vel non possunt in aliis reprehendunt ad hoc vnum docti & arguti Sed elingues ad reliqua · delectatus sum · ipso in transitu · Et siquid lasciuie liberioris occurreret · excusabat etas tunc tua · dum id scriberes · stilus · ydioma · ipsa quoq; rerum leuitas · & eorum qui lecturi talia videbantur · Refert enim largiter quibus scribas · morumq; varietate · stili varietas excusatur · Inter multa sane iocosa & leuia · quedā pia & grauia deprehendi · de quibus tñ diffinitiue quid iudicē nō habeo · vt qui nusq; totus in-beserim · At quod fere accidit · eo more currentibus curiosius aliquanto q;

Ulm printer, John Zainer, in especial shone in the production of borders. His *De Claris Mulieribus* excels all the other books of the school in this matter; the initial S of both the Latin and the German editions being the most elaborate and beautiful piece of its kind; and, furthermore, the German edition has a border almost equal to the S in beauty, though different in character, having the shield of Scotland supported by angels in the corner. A very handsome border (or half-border rather), with a zany in the corner, is used frequently in J. Zainer's books,[1] *e.g.* in the 1473 and 1474 editions of the *Rationale* of Durandus, and, associated with an interesting historiated initial O, in Alvarus, *De planctu Ecclesiæ*, 1474. There are two or three other fine borders, such as those in Steinhowel's *Büchlein der Ordnung*, and Petrarch's *Griseldis* (here shown), both of 1473, and in Albertus Magnus, *Summa de eucharistiæ sacramento*, 1474.

A curious alphabet of initials made up of leafage, good, but not very showy, is used in the *De Claris Mulieribus* and other books. An alphabet of large initials, the most complete example of which is to be found in Leonard Hol's *Ptolemy*, is often used and is clearly founded on the pen-letters, drawn mostly in red and blue, in which the Dutch 'rubrishers' excelled.[2] This big alphabet is very beautiful and seems to have been a good deal copied by other German printers, as it well

[1] By the by, in Gritsch's *Quadragesimale*, 1475, this zany is changed into an ordinary citizen by means of an ingenious piecing of the block.

[2] Another set of initials founded on twelfth century work occurs in John Zainer's folio books, and has some likeness to those used by Hohenwang of Augsburg in the *Golden Bibel* and elsewhere, and perhaps was suggested by these, as they are not very early (*c.* 1475), but they differ from Hohenwang's in being generally more or less shaded, and also in not being enclosed in a square.

deserved to be.[1] John Reger's *Caoursin* has fine handsome 'blooming-letters,' somewhat tending toward the French style.

In Augsburg Gunther Zainer has some initial I's of strap-work without foliation: they are finely designed, but gain considerably when, as sometimes happens, the spaces between the straps are filled in with fine pen-tracery and in yellowish brown; they were cut early in Gunther's career, as one occurs in the *Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*, *c.* 1471, and another in the *Calendar*, printed 1471. These, as they always occur in the margin and are long, may be called border-pieces. A border occurring in *Eyb, ob einem manne tzu nemen ein weib* is drawn very gracefully in outline, and is attached, deftly enough, to a very good S of the pen-letter type, though on a separate block; it has three shields of arms in it, one of which is the bearing of Augsburg. This piece is decidedly illuminators' work as to design.

Gunther's *Margarita Davidica* has a border (attached to a very large P) which is much like the Ulm borders in character.

A genealogical tree of the House of Hapsburg prefacing the *Spiegel des Menschlichen lebens*, and occupying a whole page, is comparable for beauty and elaboration to the S of John Zainer above mentioned; on the whole, for beauty and richness of invention and for neatness of execution, I am inclined to give it the first place amongst all the decorative pieces of the German printers.

Gunther Zainer's German Bible of *c.* 1474 has a full set of pictured letters, one to every book, of very remarkable merit: the foliated forms which

[1] The initials of Knoblotzer of Strassburg and Bernard Richel of Basel may be mentioned.

make the letters and enclose the figures being bold, inventive, and very well drawn. I note that these excellent designs have received much less attention than they deserve.

In almost all but the earliest of Gunther's books a handsome set of initials are used, a good deal like the above-mentioned Ulm initials, but with the foliations blunter, and blended with less of geometrical forms: the pen origin of these is also very marked.

Ludwig Hohenwang, who printed at Augsburg in the seventies, uses a noteworthy set of initials, alluded to above, that would seem to have been drawn by the designer with a twelfth century MS. before him, though, as a matter of course, the fifteenth century betrays itself in certain details, chiefly in the sharp foliations at the ends of the scrolls, etc. There is a great deal of beautiful design in these letters; but the square border round them, while revealing their origin from illuminators' work, leaves over-large whites in the backgrounds, which call out for the completion that the illuminator's colour would have given them.

Bämler and the later printer Sorg do not use so much ornament as Gunther Zainer; their initials are less rich both in line and design than Gunther's, and Sorg's especially have a look of having run down from the earlier ones: in his *Seusse*, however, there are some beautiful figured initials designed on somewhat the same plan as those of Gunther Zainer's Bible.

Now it may surprise some of our readers, though I should hope not the greatest part of them, to hear that I claim the title of works of art, both for these picture-ornamented books as books, and also for the pictures themselves. Their

two main merits are first their decorative and next their story-telling quality; and it seems to me that these two qualities include what is necessary and essential in book-pictures. To be sure the principal aim of these unknown German artists was to give the essence of the story at any cost, and it may be thought that the decorative qualities of their designs were accidental, or done unconsciously at any rate. I do not altogether dispute that view; but then the accident is that of the skilful workman whose skill is largely the result of tradition; it has thereby become a habit of the hand to him to work in a decorative manner.

To turn back to the books numbered above as the most important of the school, I should call John Zainer's *De Claris Mulieribus*, and the *Æsop*, and Gunther Zainer's *Spiegel des Menschlichen lebens* the most characteristic. Of these my own choice would be the *De Claris Mulieribus*, partly perhaps because it is a very old friend of mine, and perhaps the first book that gave me a clear insight into the essential qualities of the mediæval design of that period. The subject-matter of the book also makes it one of the most interesting, giving it opportunity for setting forth the mediæval reverence for the classical period, without any of the loss of romance on the one hand, and epical sincerity and directness on the other, which the flood-tide of renaissance rhetoric presently inflicted on the world. No story-telling could be simpler and more straightforward, and less dependent on secondary help, than that of these curious, and, as people phrase it, rude cuts. And in spite (if you please it) of their rudeness, they are by no means lacking in definite beauty: the composition is good everywhere, the drapery well designed, the lines

ARgia greca mulier ab antiquis argiuorũ regibus generosam ducens originẽ adrasti regis filia fuit / & spectabili pulchritudine sua / ori de secũ temporaneis letum spectacu

FROM JOHN ZAINER'S *BOCCACCIO DE CLARIS MULIERIBUS*, ULM, 1473

rich, which shows of course that the cutting is good. Though there is no ornament save the beautiful initial S and the curious foliated initials above mentioned, the page is beautifully proportioned and stately, when, as in the copy before me, it has escaped the fury of the bookbinder.

The great initial S I claim to be one of the very best printers' ornaments ever made, one which would not disgrace a thirteenth century MS. Adam and Eve are standing on a finely-designed spray of poppy-like leafage, and behind them rise up the boughs of the tree. Eve reaches down an apple to Adam with her right hand, and with her uplifted left takes another from the mouth of the crowned woman's head of the serpent, whose coils, after they have performed the duty of making the S, end in a foliage scroll, whose branches enclose little medallions of the seven deadly sins. All this is done with admirable invention and romantic meaning, and with very great beauty of design and a full sense of decorative necessities.

As to faults in this delightful book, it must be said that it is somewhat marred by the press-work not being so good as it should have been even when printed by the weak presses of the fifteenth century; but this, though a defect, is not, I submit, an essential one.

In the *Æsop* the drawing of the designs is in a way superior to that of the last book: the line leaves nothing to be desired; it is thoroughly decorative, rather heavy, but so firm and strong, and so obviously in submission to the draughtsman's hand, that it is capable of even great delicacy as well as richness. The figures both of man and beast are full of expression; the heads clean drawn and expressive also, and in many cases refined and

delicate. The cuts, with few exceptions, are not bounded by a border, but amidst the great richness of line no lack of one is felt, and the designs fully sustain their decorative position as a part of the noble type of the Ulm and Augsburg printers; this *Æsop* is, to my mind, incomparably the best and most expressive of the many illustrated editions of the Fables printed in the fifteenth century. The

FROM THE *ÆSOP*

designs of the other German and Flemish ones were all copied from it.

Gunther Zainer's *Spiegel des Menschlichen lebens* is again one of the most amusing of woodcut books. One may say that the book itself, one of the most popular of the Middle Ages, runs through all the conditions and occupations of men as then existing, from the Pope and Kaiser down to the field labourer, and, with full indulgence in the mediæval love of formal antithesis, contrasts

Ewangelium.

In illo tempore dixit Ihesus discipulis suis. Si quis diligit me sermonem meum seruabit et pater meus diliget eũ et ad eum veniemus. iohis. xiiij. ca°. In der zeit/ ~~sagt~~ sprach Ihesus zů seinen iũgern vn d sprach wer mich lieb hat der behaltet mein red/ vnd mein vater

FROM GUNTHER ZAINER'S *EPISTLES AND GOSPELS*, AUGSBURG, *c.* 1474

FROM GUNTHER ZAINER'S *SPIEGEL D. MENSCHL. LEBENS*, AUGSBURG, *c.* 1475

the good and the evil side of them. The profuse illustrations to all this abound in excellent pieces of naïve characterisation; the designs are very well put together, and, for the most part, the figures well drawn, and draperies good and crisp, and the general effect very satisfactory as decoration. The designer in this book, however, has not been always so lucky in his cutter as those of the last two, and some of the pictures have been considerably injured in the cutting. On the other hand the lovely genealogical tree above mentioned crowns this book with abundant honour, and the best of the cuts are so good that it is hardly possible to rank it after the first two. Gunther Zainer's *Speculum Humanæ Salvationis* and his *Golden Legend* have cuts decidedly ruder than these three books; they are simpler also, and less decorative as ornaments to the page, nevertheless they have abundant interest, and most often their essential qualities of design shine through the rudeness, which by no means excludes even grace of silhouette: one and all they are thoroughly expressive of the story they tell. The designs in these two books by the by do not seem to have been done by the same hand; but I should think that the designer of those in the *Golden Legend* drew the subjects that 'inhabit' the fine letters of Gunther's German Bible. Both seem to me to have a kind of illuminator's character in them. The cuts to the story of Simon bring us back to those of the *Spiegel des Menschlichen lebens*; they are delicate and pretty, and tell the story, half so repulsive, half so touching, of 'little Sir Hugh,' very well.

I must not pass by without a further word on *Sigismund* and *Guiscard*. I cannot help thinking that the cuts therein are by the same hand that

drew some of those in the *Æsop*; at any rate they have the same qualities of design, and are to my mind singularly beautiful and interesting.

Of the other contemporary, or nearly contemporary, printers Bämler comes first in interest. His book *von den* 7 *Todsünden*, etc., has cuts of much interest and invention, not unlike in character to those of Gunther Zainer's *Golden Legend*.

Nach dem aber vnd er den weg nahend haym mit dem vnschuldigen kind komen was/vnd sich allent

FROM GUNTHER ZAINER'S *TUBERINUS, GESCHICHT VON DEM HEILIGEN KIND SYMON*, AUGSBURG, *c.* 1475

His *Buch der Natur* has full-page cuts of animals, herbs, and human figures exceedingly quaint, but very well designed for the most part. A half-figure of a bishop 'in pontificalibus' is particularly bold and happy. Rupertus a sancto Remigio's History of the crusade and the *Cronich von allen Konigen und Kaisern* are finely illustrated. His

Rosencranz Bruderschaft above mentioned has but two cuts, but they are both of them, the one as a fine decorative work, the other as a deeply felt illustration of devotional sentiment, of the highest merit.

The two really noteworthy works of Sorg (who, as aforesaid, was somewhat a plagiaristic publisher) are, first, the *Seusse*, which is illustrated with bold and highly decorative cuts full of meaning and dignity, and next, the *Council of Constance*, which is the first heraldic woodcut work (it has besides the coats-of-arms, several fine full-page cuts, of which the burning of Huss is one). These armorial cuts, which are full of interest as giving a vast number of curious and strange bearings, are no less so as showing what admirable decoration can be got out of heraldry when it is simply and well drawn.

To Conrad Dinckmut of Ulm, belonging to a somewhat later period than these last-named printers, belongs the glory of opposing by his fine works the coming degradation of book-ornament in Germany. The *Seelen-wurzgarten*, ornamented with seventeen full-page cuts, is injured by the too free repetition of them; they are, however, very good; the best perhaps being the Nativity, which, for simplicity and beauty, is worthy of the earlier period of the Middle Ages. The *Swabian Chronicle* has cuts of various degrees of merit, but all interesting and full of life and spirit: a fight in the lists with axes being one of the most remarkable. *Das buch der Weisheit* (Bidpay's Fables) has larger cuts which certainly show no lack of courage; they are perhaps scarcely so decorative as the average of the cuts of the school, and are somewhat coarsely cut; but their frank epical character makes them worthy

FROM TERENCE'S *EUNUCHUS*, ULM, CONRAD DINCKMUT, 1486

of all attention. But perhaps his most remarkable work is his Terence's *Eunuchus* (in German), ornamented with twenty-eight cuts illustrating the scenes. These all have backgrounds showing (mostly) the streets of a mediæval town, which clearly imply theatrical scenery; the figures of the actors are delicately drawn, and the character of the persons and their action is well given and carefully sustained throughout. The text of this book is printed in a large handsome black-letter, imported, as my friend Mr. Proctor informs me, from Italy. The book is altogether of singular beauty and character.

The *Caoursin* (1496), the last book of any account printed at Ulm, has good and spirited cuts of the events described, the best of them being the flight of Turks in the mountains. One is almost tempted to think that these cuts are designed by the author of those of the Mainz *Breidenbach* of 1486, though the cutting is much inferior.

All these books, it must be remembered, though they necessarily (being printed books) belong to the later Middle Ages, and though some of them are rather decidedly late in that epoch, are thoroughly 'Gothic' as to their ornament; there is no taint of the Renaissance in them. In this respect the art of book-ornament was lucky. The neo-classical rhetoric which invaded literature before the end of the fourteenth century (for even Chaucer did not quite escape it) was harmless against this branch of art at least for more than another hundred years; so that even Italian book-pictures are Gothic in spirit, for the most part, right up to the beginning of the sixteenth century, long after the New Birth had destroyed the building arts for Italy: while Germany, whose Gothic architecture was necessarily

firmer rooted in the soil, did not so much as feel the first shiver of the coming flood till suddenly, and without warning, it was upon her, and the art of the Middle Ages fell dead in a space of about five years, and was succeeded by a singularly stupid and brutal phase of that rhetorical and academical art, which, in all matters of ornament, has held Europe captive ever since.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

DEDICATIONS TO ENGLISHMEN BY FOREIGN AUTHORS AND EDITORS

IN continuing my notes, it is hardly necessary to premise that they only present the briefest abstracts of such dedications as have come under my notice, and that the list does not profess to be complete. As we advance, political and polemical motives are more frequently found to be the inspiring cause of these dedications; but there are few instances in which some interesting allusion to personal history is not found which rewards the perusal of, it may be, some dreary pages of inflated panegyric. From

the commencement of the seventeenth century to the end of the eighteenth a chronological list is all that can here be given.

The first book now to be noticed is one which should have had its place in the preceding article as belonging to the reign of Henry VIII. In the edition of the works of Rupert, abbot of the monastery of Deutz (opposite Cologne), printed at Cologne in 1526-29, there is a series of four English dedications: (1) To the king the commentary on the Apocalypse is inscribed by the editor, John Cochlæus, as a mark of gratitude for his book on the Seven Sacraments, which had been published chiefly for the pious instruction of the Germans. Cochlæus had been encouraged to approach the king by that prelate of great learning and integrity, John, bishop of Rochester. The latter had lately written to Cochlæus that he greatly desired to see this commentary on a book which had always appeared to him to be so difficult that no one could ever unfold its mysteries without a new revelation.[1] (2) The commentary on the Song of Songs is dedicated by one Henry, the then abbot of Rupert's monastery, to Bishop Tonstall. He says that Francis Birckman, the famous bookseller, who was always searching libraries for works deserving publication, had said so much to him in praise of Tonstall as an encyclopædia of virtues that the abbot was inflamed with a desire to show his esteem for him. He then enlarges again in Birckman's praise, by whose unwearied labours this author has been brought to light; but it has cost him so much loss in his private affairs that it is hoped that by Tonstall's favour this and the other works of Rupert may be widely dispersed through

[1] Chytræus quotes Fisher's own words from a Latin letter.

the whole kingdom, under the protection of the royal prerogative and with the sanction of the bishops. (3) The volume containing the forty-two books, 'De operibus S. Trinitatis,' printed in 1528, is dedicated by the bookseller himself, Birckman, to Cardinal Wolsey, extolled as alike the happiest and wisest of men. There is scarcely to be found under heaven any country to be compared with England, as for many other reasons, so also for the prudent and just administration of Wolsey. Birckman speaks from experience. He has not infrequently visited England, and has proved the sincerity and kindness of every one, and therefore he endeavours to benefit and please all, and especially to win Wolsey's favour. (4) Lastly, Rupert's thirteen books, 'De victoria Verbi Dei,' printed in 1529, are inscribed by Cochlæus to Nicholas West, bishop of Ely, as to one especially desirous of sowing the Word of God in the hearts of the people, and ready to help poor students. He gives some particulars of the works of Rupert still remaining unprinted. His fifteen books about David and ten books on Job have been searched for in vain in the monastic libraries of Westphalia, Bavaria, and the Forest of Bohemia. Four books of poems and hymns exist in the monastery of St. Laurence at Liége, whence the commentary on St. Matthew was obtained, but the distance prevents Cochlæus from asking for the loan of the MS. He hopes that some one who is nearer the place will copy it out and print it, or if unable to bear the expense of printing, will communicate his copy to that eminent bookseller, Francis Birckman, to whom this publication of Rupert's works is due.

MARY I.—Alph. Alvarez Guerrero, at Naples,

follows up the dedication to Philip of Spain of his *Thesaurus Christianæ religionis*, published at Venice in 1559, with one to Queen Mary as 'fortissimum Christianæ fidei propugnaculum atque præsidium.' Both the dedications are dated 18 kal. Aug. 1558.

QUEEN ELIZABETH.—To Elizabeth, while yet princess, John Sturm of Strassburg, inscribed a treatise *De Periodis*, which was written in 1550, but not printed until 1567, when it was accompanied by copious notes written by Val. 'Erythræus' of Lindau. He tells the princess that he addresses the book to her because he has been informed by Roger Ascham that she is already well skilled in the arrangement of words and construction of sentences, and Bucer has confirmed to him this testimony. He sends it to her, therefore, not as if he could teach her more than Ascham has already taught, but in order that she may pass her judgment upon it. In a prefatory letter to the printer, Josias Rihel, in which the author consents to the printing of his treatise with the comments of Erythræus, he says, somewhat oddly, that he has not read the latter, but is sure that their writer does not greatly differ from him.

2. John Herold of Basle prefixes to his *editio princeps* of the Chronicle of Marianus Scotus in 1559 ten pages of a laudatory address to Elizabeth. She is *optimi perfectio* in her whole life and her every action. And the England of her birth excels all other countries in climate, healthiness, fertility; it is rich in innumerable flocks secure from wolves; it nourishes men, healthy, long-lived, hospitable; a nobility exercised in hunting and hawking; a co[illegible]nalty instructed in every occupation and

every art. From her very cradle Elizabeth devoted herself to the study of true Christian Philosophy; and as her parents' one care was for her good teaching and training, she learned while still a child not only her mother-tongue, but also Latin, Greek, French, and Italian so perfectly that any one who knew her speaking or writing any one of these would suppose that she knew no other. At fourteen years of age she translated two orations of Isocrates from Greek into Latin in a style that fairly struck learned men with astonishment, as Herold was told by John Cheke, who, after the death of her brother Edward, to whom he had been tutor, travelled in Italy, and afterwards, coming to Basle, contracted friendship with the writer. Richard Morison also told him much of her virtue and her learning. With much more in the same strain Herold continues his panegyric, in the course of which he says that he has been warmly urged to manifest his feeling towards her, by the old man John Bale, by Foxe, by Thomas Bentham, and by other learned English travellers. The decree which he hears that she put forth, on the day of her coronation, should be engraven on the hearts of all good men, viz. [*this he prints in capitals*], that all ministers should preach the Gospel regularly, should read St. Paul's Epistles, repeat the elements of the Christian Faith, and abstain from all interpretation; that the Queen should summon a Parliament within six months; that that Parliament should then appoint teachers, according to the sense of the Fathers of the primitive church; and that until that time nothing should be changed.[1]

[1] Of this alleged declaration, or order, on the day of the Queen's coronation, there does not appear to be any mention made by English writers. It is probably a misreported version of her proclamation in restraint of preaching.

3. Immanuel Tremellius' edition of the Syriac New Testament, printed at Paris in 1569, has a dedication to her, dated at Heidelberg, 1st March 1568, in which Tremellius gives some account of the previous labours of others.

4. Pietro Bizarri, a learned Italian of Perugia, came into England as a Protestant refugee, and was patronised by John Russell, the first Earl of Bedford. He was admitted a Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and, although a layman, Bishop Jewel procured his appointment by Archbishop Parker to the prebend of Alton Australis in Salisbury Cathedral. He subsequently quitted England, and was employed in the service of Augustus, the Elector of Saxony.[1] His *Opuscula*, printed by Aldus in 1565, contain many Latin verses addressed to various English persons of distinction, including Jewel. To a prose treatise, *De optimo Principe*, is prefixed a dedication to Elizabeth, dated at Venice, June 1565, and 'Epigrammata' in her praise, by six Italians and by others, are added at the end of the volume.

The next treatise, *De Bello et Pace*, is, by a singular sequence, inscribed to Queen Mary of Scotland in a still higher strain of panegyric. Bizarri says that the book had been read by her under another title. And he cannot ever forget her kindness to him when he was in Scotland. He preserves amongst his most precious things the golden bracelet which she gave him, and which he always carries about to remind himself of what he owes to her and to her brother James Stuart.

[1] See Zedler's *Universal-Lexicon*. Much may be found about him by reference to the Index to Strype's works, and his life is given in the *Dict. of National Biography*. But in none of these books is the date of his death given, which was in the year 1588. See Jones's *Fasti Eccl. Sarisb.*, p. 351. He is mentioned also, and some of his verses translated, in Wiffen's *Memoirs of the House of Russell*.

There are three kinds of goods: those of mind, body, and fortune. Scarce the eloquence of Demosthenes could tell in what degree she possesses the two former; of the last she has suffered an incredible loss in the death of her husband. But she has borne it with fortitude and wisdom. God has left her the possession of the kingdom, which is so happily governed by her that Scottish memory cannot recall the like. This dedication is followed by an ode. A third treatise is inscribed to Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford and Governor of Berwick.

5. In 1561 another Italian, H. Sansovino, dedicated (under the date 26th September 1560) to Queen Elizabeth his *Cento Novelle*, printed at Venice. But this dedication was suppressed in the next edition issued in the following year, and I have not yet seen a copy of the rare earlier edition, and do not know what the queen lost by the author's change of mind.

6. In 1578 Joh. Serranus, writing from Lausanne, dedicated to Elizabeth the first volume of his edition of Plato with a Latin translation, printed by H. Stephens. In four folio pages she is told that her goodness has not only reached Scotland, and there driven out falsehood and established truth, but has benefited the editor's native country France, and assisted to restore it to peace. Many thousand Frenchmen now, through her, live in peace in England and enjoy the pure preaching of the gospel. A few words in this panegyric call to remembrance the petition for deliverance from captivity delivered in the name of the four Evangelists and the Apostle Paul to the queen the morrow after her coronation: 'ex gloriosissimo carcere captiva tecum prodiit veritas.

7 and 8. Arnold ab Haersolte, a lawyer of Zwoll, inscribed to the queen and to the nobility of England a treatise, *De Actionibus*, printed at Antwerp in 1583. Her rule at home and her influence abroad are extolled; while war has been raging in other countries, God has miraculously enabled her to preserve her realm in peace, under laws of the greatest excellence. In the same year, Ogier Bellehache, from Normandy, presents to her, in thirteen lines, his *Sacrosancta Bucolica* (pastoral Bible-dialogues, with a paraphrase of the Song of Songs), printed by Henry Midleton at London.

JAMES VI. and I.—Rodolph Gualther's *Homiliæ* on the Epistle to the Galatians have a long preface, dated at Zürich, 1st Aug. 1576, addressed to James when only ten years old. Gualther, having heard of the king's truly royal abilities and piety, therefore begs leave to publish these homilies under the patronage of his name. He goes on to address the poor boy in a long exhortation in which he specially urges his holding synods; and ends with the note that he is writing this preface, 962 years since St. Gall (said by some to have sprung from the family of the old Kings of Scotland) came with his teacher and kinsman, St. Columbanus, to help the ministers of the Helvetian Churches in preaching the gospel among the Alemanni.

2. Two years later, in 1578, the marvellously precocious lad was presented with the second vol. of Jo. Serranus' edition of Plato, printed by Henry Stephens. In the dedication stress is laid on his good fortune in having for regent that illustrious hero, James Douglas [the Earl of Morton, just when the downfall of the latter was at hand]. His tutors, Buchanan and Peter Young, are also praised.

Serranus offers the book to James by the repeated advice of Beza, encouraged also by what he had heard of him from George Keith, the son of William Keith, the Earl Marshal.

3. Beza's *Icones, id est, veræ imagines virorum illustrium*, published at Geneva in 1580, have, besides a dedication to James, a portrait of him, on the reverse of the title-page, which looks lifelike in the fresh youthful face, although he is represented in complete armour, with sword in his right hand and thistle in his left. After a vindication of portraits and the study of them from a possible charge of idolatry, Beza proceeds to say that he presents the volume to the king, on account of (1) his learning (gained under the instruction of Buchanan and Peter Young); (2) his zeal in promoting Christ's kingdom, of which the Church at Geneva forms part; (3) the connection between the Scottish and Genevan Churches in confession and discipline, and the benefit conferred on the latter by the ministry of John 'Cnox' the Scot, and Christopher 'Gudman' the Englishman; and (4) the help from Scotland to French refugee ministers at Geneva, and the presence of many Scotch scholars in the University, such as Henry Scrimger, Professor of Civil Law, lately removed by an untimely death; Andrew Melvin, now returned to be a distinguished ornament of the University at Edinburgh; George 'Keyt,' son of the Marshal of Scotland, now a student; and Francis 'Stuard,' Earl of 'Botuel,' a youth affording a special example of the greatest virtues.

4. Henry Stephens' second edition of Xenophon, printed in 1581, is inscribed to James, then fifteen years of age. Stephens says that he is assured the youthful king knows who Xenophon

is as well as he knows his own name. And he dedicates this edition to him, because the first edition [in 1561] was based on the labours of a Scot, Henry Scrimger [Scrimgeour], who was the first to clear the text from errors by means of ancient copies which he found in Italy. He adds that as Cyrus brought back of old the exiled people of God to their own land, so it is now given to James, while yet a boy, to recall banished Christianity to Scotland.

5. The Epistle of Gregory the Great, 'adversus Antichristum et nomen seu titulum Antichristi *episcopum œcumenicum*,' was published by A. C. Caryon, a French Protestant lawyer, at Sedan in 1603, and dedicated to James as Defender of the Christian Faith.

6. In 1607 a very different book, the *Annotationes* of Steph. de Claviére, another French lawyer, upon the Satires of Persius, printed at Paris, invoked the king's patronage by the advice of Franc. Amboise. The foundation of the University of Paris (amongst others) by Charlemagne with the help of English scholars is referred to, and the English are said to be still eminent there in the study of Civil Law and of Theology; the former and present alliances of France and England are commemorated; and the Scottish Guard of the King of France ('milites Scoti fidelitate intermina satis notabiles') are praised. Claviére says that James had graciously received from him previously his edition of Claudian (printed in 1602); this, however, was not dedicated to James but to the Dauphin.

7. In 1610 Caspar Waser, Professor of Hebrew at Zürich, prefaces Conrad Graser's commentary on the Apocalypse with a dedication to James, influenced by the usual considerations of

the king's piety, learning, and authority. He was pressed also to do this by the author of the book, Waser; and encouraged by the precedents of Bullinger in dedicating his *Decades* to Edward VI., and his *Apologia* to Queen Elizabeth, but, above all, by the benignity with which the king received him and a former pupil, Joh. Petr. Heinzel von Degernstein, a German knight, when they made together a literary tour in England, Ireland, and Scotland in 1592, being recommended to him by Beza and introduced by Peter Young. The friendships then contracted with Young and many other distinguished persons still continue.

To EDMUND GRINDALL, then archbishop of York, Sandys, bishop of London, Horn of Winchester, Cox of Ely, Parkhurst of Norwich, and Pilkington of Durham, Rodolph Gualther of Zürich dedicated his *Homiliæ* on the First Epistle to the Corinthians, in a long preface dated 1st Aug. 1572. He says that he never forgets how kindly he had been received in England twenty-five years before, not only by young students and learned professors at Oxford, but also by that immortal ornament of England and martyr of Christ, Archbishop Cranmer. After mourning the death of Jewel, he thanks the bishops not only for friendly letters, which show he is not forgotten, but also for recent kind reception of his son in England.

FRANCIS HASTINGS, nephew of Henry, third Earl of Huntingdon, and EDWARD BACON, son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, the lord-keeper.—To these jointly Innocent Gentillet, a French Protestant lawyer, presents his *Commentarii de regno recte administrando*, of which one edition was printed

in 1590, in a dedication dated 1st August 1577.[1] He says he does this as a mark of gratitude for the kindness shown by the English to his brethren who had been exiled for their religion. Upon the revival of religion Satan had stirred up a spirit of mockery at every thing good and true. Of this France affords now a sad spectacle. There are those who scoff at all principles of religion and politics, and at the eternal truth of God, the leaders of whom are, among the French Rabelais, and among the Germans Agrippa; but the worst of all is Machiavelli, who has been advanced to such honour by that Medea, the Queen of France, that no one is acceptable in her court unless he constantly reads Machiavelli's precepts in Italian and French and acts upon them. A comparison then follows between the troubled state of France and the quiet and happy state of England.

MATTHEW PARKER, archbishop of Canterbury.—Imman. Tremellius' *Grammatica Chaldæa et Syra*, appended to his edition of the Syriac New Testament, fol. Paris, 1569, has a dedication to Parker, dated at Heidelberg, 1st March 1568. From the time when Tremellius was invited to Cambridge to be Professor of Hebrew [in 1550], Parker had evinced the greatest friendship for him, of which one proof was that he had had his son baptized by him. And when three years ago Tremellius visited England a second time, when the University of Heidelberg (*schola nostra*) had been dispersed by the plague, Parker showed the same regard for him, and made him quit his inn and spend nearly six months with him in his own house.

[1] The Bodleian copy of the edition of 1590 belonged to Robert Burton, 'Democritus junior,' and is marked by him as having cost 18d.

WILLIAM, CHARLES, and RICHARD PERCY, third, fourth, and fifth sons (the last born in 1575) of Henry, eighth Earl of Northumberland, who died in the Tower, 21st June 1585.—To these John Curter, their private tutor, presents his first edition of Hierocles' commentary on the *Aurea Carmina* of Pythagoras, with a Latin translation, in a dedication dated at Paris, 1st February 1585. He enlarges on the attractiveness of their personal appearance and disposition, on their diligence, and the promise they give for the future. They were evidently at that time in Paris. Of Curter ('Curterius') himself nothing appears to be known.

SIR THOMAS SHERLEY.—Tusanus Gibutius, D.D., inscribes to Sherley his *Examen Theologicum, præcipua continens doctrinæ Christianæ capita* (printed by Thomas East at London in 1578), because it was written in his house at Wiston in Sussex, and printed at his suggestion. The author was still living with Sherley when the book was published, but who he was does not appear.

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY.—A very interesting dedication to Sidney is prefixed by Henry Stephens to his edition of Herodian in 1581. Stephens evidently dreaded that the allurements of a life at court might draw Sidney, whom he addresses familiarly as 'Mi Sidnee,' from old habits of study. He begins with an adaptation of lines from Horace:

> 'Quid Sidneus agit? monitus multumque monendus
> Ut partas tueatur opes, & perdere vitet
> Dona palatino puero quæ infudit Apollo.'

He fears lest the court may have already made

Homer drop from his hands, but begs that he will take that poet as his protector against those sirens of the court to whom most born in high rank and of like age fall a prey. He must fight against everything that would tend to tear him away from books, and, at least, must keep his historians. Although Stephens knows that (unless Sidney be changed from the man with whom he was acquainted first in Germany and afterwards in Austria) he will not need an interpreter in reading Herodian, he yet thinks that the notes will prove interesting to him, though they are added for the use of others.

Sir Francis Walsingham.—Francis Junius' edition of Beza's Latin Testament, with Tremellius' translation of the Syriac version, published in 1589, has a dedication to Walsingham, dated at Heidelberg, 1st September in that year. In this Francis says that he had heard from John Junius, who two years before had been ambassador in England, of the kind regard in which Walsingham held him, and in return he offers this book, knowing how the study of truth is followed in England, and how the memory of Tremellius is there honoured and held sacred.

1608. Sir Henry Wotton, while ambassador at Venice, received from Elisabetta Glissenti Serenella the dedication of Fabio Glissenti's *Morte Innamorata, favola morale.*

1608. Henry, Prince of Wales.—P. Busius, *Pars ii. Commentarii in Pandectas*; Zwoll.

1612. Henry, Prince of Wales.—Benvenuto Italiano, *Il Passaggiere* (dialogues); London,

1617. CHARLES I., while Prince of Wales.—Jo. Barbier of Paris presents his *Janua Linguarum*, printed at London, as a new-year's gift to him as 'a maister-prince and a right principall scholler.'

1620. ROBERT DUDLEY, Earl of Warwick.—Marcus Cornacchinus' *Methodus Curandi*, Frankfort; dedication dated at Pisa. All men learn from the earl wherein true nobility consists; all venerate him, and by the Grand Duke of Tuscany he is dearly esteemed. Through his singular skill in ship-building and in the construction of 'quinqueremes,' pirates are made to tremble and Europe at large is protected.

1626. THEOPHILUS HOWARD, Earl of Suffolk.—A. Reuter, *De consilio*; Oxford.

1627. GEORGE VILLIERS, Duke of Buckingham.—G. J. Vossius, *De Historicis Latinis*, Lugd. Bat. The dedication (which is headed with a long list of Buckingham's titles and offices) occupies fourteen pages, and is written in a strain of the most fulsome flattery. It refers to the Spanish embassy, and relates the purchase by the Duke ('cum legationem obires apud Belgas'), and presentation to the University of Cambridge, of the MSS. of Tho. Erpenius, when they were likely to be dispersed. He mentions that he himself had been invited to become a Professor at Cambridge, through the munificence of Lord 'A. Broock' [Fulke Greville], but had been induced to remain at Leyden, partly by others' persuasion and partly by consideration of his own ill-health.

1629. JOHN WILLIAMS, bishop of Lincoln, afterwards archbishop of York.—Egbert Grim's *Theses*

xcix de nostri ævi controversiis; Leyden. Grim speaks of himself as having been a pupil of Dr. John Prideaux at Exeter College, Oxford, and as having been entertained in the house 'M. Cottoni.' Bishop Williams had received him at his table at Lincoln, and had allowed him to study in the libraries at St. John's College, Cambridge, and at Westminster. He had been able at the Bodleian Library to study for six hours daily, for which, through all his life, he should be grateful.[1]

1629. Sir Edward Powell, Master of the Requests. — Joh. de Laet dedicates to him his *Hispania* in the Elzevir series as 'affini suo honorando.'

1630. Sir Thomas Glemham, afterwards distinguished as a royalist commander in the Civil War.—To him Laet inscribes, as being also 'affini suo plurimum honorando,' his edition of Sir Tho. Smith's book, *De republica Anglorum.*

1634. Sir George Boswell.—Jac. Gothofred inscribes to him as to a warm friend his edition of the oration of Libanius *De Templis*, in a dedication dated 1st December 1634, in which he congratulates Boswell on his appointment as ambassador to the United Provinces. Of this he had heard only a few days before in conversation with Basil, Viscount Feilding, with whom for three years he had been on terms of intimate familiarity, and whom the city [of Venice] had been receiving with great joy on his lately coming thither as ambassador.

[1] The Bodleian 'Registrum Admissorum' contains Grim's signature under date of 10th October 1626.

n. d. WILLIAM LAUD, archbishop of Canterbury. —The first edition, printed without date or place, of Salicetus' [*i.e.* Jo. Leonh. Weidner's] *Elixir Jesuiticum*, has a short dedication to Laud.

1650. SIR DAVID ERSKEIN, in the service of Sweden.—S. Schnell's Latin translation of a Rabbinical commentary on the Lamentations, printed at Altdorf.

1662. EDW. REYNOLDS, bishop of Norwich.—Vol. II. of J. Hoornbeck's *Socinianismus Confutatus*; Utrecht.

1663. SIR WILL. DAVIDSONE, English agent at Amsterdam.—Jac. Abendana's Spanish translation of *Jehuda Levita*; Amsterdam.

1664. CECIL TUFTON (son of the first Earl of Thanet).—Paul P. Jasz-Berengi, *Fax nova Linguæ Latinæ*; London. A second edition in 1666 is also dedicated to Archbishop Sheldon.

1665. To RICHARD NORTON, and to his three sons, Edward, Daniel, and Richard, of Hampshire, Francis Szaki, a Hungarian exile living at Southwick, Sussex, dedicates a comparison (in Latin) of the logical precepts of Rameus and Heereboord. Bodleian MS., Rawlinson, D. 234.

1669. WALTER BLUNT.—Ant. Le Grand dedicated to Blunt his *Scydromedia*, printed at London in this year. In 1671 he dedicated his *Philosophia Veterum* to Rich. Lumley, Viscount Waterford; in 1672 the *Institutio Philosophiæ* to Sir Charles Waldegrave; in 1673 the *Historia Naturæ* to Hon.

Robert Boyle; and in 1675 the *De Carentia sensus in brutis* to Henry Jenkes.

1674. Sir William Godolphin.—A Spanish translation of John Owen's epigrams; Madrid. [*Notes and Queries*, 18th August 1894, p. 127.]

1679. Charles II.—H. Grotius' *Opera Theologica*; Amsterdam. Dedicated by his son Peter to Charles as being indeed the 'most Christian king,' if regard be had to the purity of the Reformed Religion!

1682. Cardinal Philip Howard. — Christ. Lupus' [*Quadrilogus*] *Vita et Epistolæ Thomæ Becket*, Brussels. The dedication by the editor, Guil. Wynants, is dated at Louvain.

1685. Sir Henry Waldegrave, Bart.—Ant. Le Grand, *Historia Sacra*; London.

1709. Thomas Tenison, archbishop of Canterbury.—John Le Clerc's edition of Grotius, *De Veritate Religionis Christ.*; Amsterdam. Le Clerc dedicates it to Tenison partly because he appends some evidences in letters from Henry Newton, the English ambassador at Florence, and Francis Cholmondeley, of the high estimation which Grotius had for the Church of England.

1713. John Ker, M.D.—Jac. Gronovius, *Recensio mutilationum Suidæ*; Leyden.

1715. Thomas Tenison, archbishop of Canterbury, and John Robinson, bishop of London.—Jo. Höllingius, *Diss. de Baetyliis*; Groningen.

1720. JOHN CARMICHAELL, afterwards third Earl of Hyndford.—C. O. Rechenberg, *Epist. de jure Germani Imperii*; Leipzig.

1722. RICHARD MEAD, M.D. Gronovius' edition of *Pomponius Mela*; Leyden.

1723. JAMES DRUMMOND, Duke of Perth.—The Life of Mabillon in the second edition of his *Analecta*; Paris.

1725. JAMES III., son of James II., with a fine portrait.—B. Baldi, *Memorie di Urbino*; Rome.

1728. JOHN FINCH, fifth Earl of Winchelsea.—N. F. Haym, *Biblioteca Italiana*; Venice.

1738. THOMAS COKE, Lord Lovel.—Drakenborch's *Livy*; Amsterdam.

1743. SIR JOHN BOUVERIE.—A. M. Grazzini, *La seconda Cena*; Florence.

1756. SIR JAMES DAWKINS.—The same author's *Novelle*; London.

1761. LADY DIANA MOLINEUX.—An Italian translation of Hogarth's *Analysis of Beauty*; Leghorn.

1784. WILLIAM PITT.—Reiske's edition of *Dio Chrysost.*

W. D. MACRAY.

AN ELIZABETHAN BOOKSELLER

HISTORIANS of Elizabethan literature, moved apparently by the common prepossessions of authors, have passed Elizabethan publishers by as unworthy of serious attention. Yet a little impartial investigation proves that the Elizabethan publisher played a more effective part in the production of literature than the publisher of almost any other epoch. Rarely have publishers exercised larger powers of control over the fruits of the authors' pens; rarely have they sought more confidential relations with their customers. It was on their initiative alone that many products of high literary genius were transferred from the hazardous shelter of manuscript to the safer havens offered by printed books. The Elizabethan publisher was doubtless destitute of all modern conceptions of the rights either of his authors or of his rivals in trade; but, so far from deserving contemptuous neglect, he may fairly claim to have had a share in generating those stirring influences which the greater part of Elizabethan literature has exerted on men's minds and emotions.

Although very many of the operations of the Elizabethan stationers escaped the scrutiny of their Company, the extant registers of the Company supply much useful detail respecting the life and work of almost all engaged in the trade.[1] And the processes of Elizabethan publishing may be studied

[1] Professor Arber's printed transcript has placed these registers at the disposal of all students, and most of the information conveyed in this article is derived from its pages.

in action to best advantage in the biography of a representative stationer. I propose to deal here with the career of Edward Blount. He was not a very eminent member of the Company, he never rose to the dignity of owning a printing-press, nor held office in his guild; but he was brought into closer contact than many of his neighbours with the great authors of the time. When the panorama of Elizabethan and Jacobean literature is closely scanned, he is seen to play in it as significant a *rôle* as any stationer of the day.

Edward Blount was born in London in 1564, while most of the actors in the great literary revolution which characterised Elizabeth's reign were in their infancy. His father, Ralph, was a merchant-tailor, and Edward began active life on 24th June 1578, when he 'put himself apprentice' for ten years to William Ponsonby, a London stationer.

Blount's master had been made a Freeman of the Stationers' Company early in 1571, and in 1577 opened business at the sign of The Bishop's Head in St. Paul's Churchyard, then the central home of the trade. Ponsonby was a publisher only, a seller of books, and not a printer. When Blount joined him he had merely undertaken a few religious tracts, but his business was already large enough to attract another apprentice, two years Blount's senior, one Paul Linley, who plays a small part in Blount's later career. In 1582, the fifth year of Blount's apprenticeship, his master made a first excursion into the fields of genuine literature by publishing the first part of *Mamillia*, the earliest of Robert Greene's intricate romances. Next year, 1584, Ponsonby added to his stock *Gwydonius*, another of Greene's popular little pamphlets, and Blount, as he stood daily by the stall before

Ponsonby's shop, must have often pressed Greene's 'prettie odd conceits' on the notice of passers-by.[1] But it was not until the autumn of 1586 that he gave Blount an opportunity of studying at close quarters the stages through which a spacious literary masterpiece passed on its journey from the author's study to the bookseller's shop.

Sir Philip Sidney had died in October 1586. His *Arcadia* was unpublished, but many MS. copies were abroad and were exciting public interest. Ponsonby deemed its publication worthy of his mettle. The Elizabethan publisher recognised no obligation to take the author into his counsels when bent on publishing a MS. that had fallen into his hands. But in the case of large books, involving, like the *Arcadia*, a substantial outlay of capital, the stationer, who worked in concert with the author or his friends, had an obvious advantage; for the author was often prepared to contribute part, at least, of the preliminary expenses. Accordingly, in order to obtain the family's patronage, Ponsonby sought an interview with Sidney's friend, Sir Fulke Greville. Greville proved sympathetic, and conveyed Ponsonby's message to Sidney's father-in-law, Sir Francis Walsingham; but Sidney's family, sharing a sentiment that often prevailed in the higher grades of society, affected to believe that Sidney had written exclusively for his immediate circle, and that his work was adequately preserved in the MS. copies that he or his friends had made. But their prepossessions carried no weight with Ponsonby. Ignoring their wishes, and determining to risk his own savings, he obtained a licence for the publication of the

[1] Cf. a conference between a gentleman and a prentice, prefixed to Roland's *'Tis Merrie when Gossips Meet* (1602). See *Shakespeare Society Papers*, i. 83, *et seq.*

Arcadia on 23rd August 1588, and in 1590 it was duly issued. The MS. from which he printed it was confused and imperfect, and he freely edited the text. In a prefatory note he stated that Sidney's MS. had been divided into chapters by 'the overseer of the print for the more ease of readers,' and many passages had been 'disposed as the overseer thought best.' Sidney's representatives regretted the result, but Ponsonby was master of the situation, and when another edition was called for, they were reduced to humbly entreat him to allow a more considerate and competent hand to oversee the proofs.

The *Arcadia*, however, was not the sole contribution of note that Ponsonby made to literature under Blount's eye in 1590. In that year he also published, for once apparently by friendly arrangement with the author, the first three books of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. But he was indisposed to rest upon his laurels, and, perceiving that the great poem 'found a favourable passage' amongst his customers, he 'endeavoured to get into his hand' other fruits of the same pen. He knew, he states, that many of Spenser's earlier poems, of which the *Shepherd's Calendar* was alone published before the *Faerie Queene*, had been 'diversely embezzled and purloined' from their author 'since his departure over sea,' and 'were not easy to be come by' even by himself. Ponsonby's search for these unconsidered trifles was well rewarded. In 1591 he put forth the volume entitled *Complaints*, but Spenser was not invited to take a part in either its christening or its editing, and Ponsonby included much that has a doubtful claim to be regarded as the poet's genuine work. Yet Spenser's relations with Ponsonby underwent no change, and

many more of his poetical productions saw the light under the same auspices and the same conditions.

Although Blount's ten years' service expired on June 24, 1588, and the next day he was admitted a freeman of the Stationers' Company, he did not set up in business for himself till 1594. The six years' interval he doubtless spent with his old master, and played some part in the publication of Sidney's and Spenser's masterpieces. The first sign that he had resolved on an independent career is an entry in the Stationers' Register to the effect that, on 25th May 1594, he purchased a licence for the publication of *The Profit of Imprisonment, a paradoxe* by Joshua Sylvester.

Sylvester was not a man of much mark. He was a merchant settled in Holland, who drifted into literature as the worshipper of contemporary writers of French sacred verse. Salluste du Bartas was his chief hero, and Du Bartas's mystical description of the creation Sylvester clothed laboriously in English verse. Whether or no Blount, on closer inspection, feared that 'the profit of imprisonment' might return no profit to him, he seems to have published no edition of the book; at any rate none is extant. But Blount did not hastily desert his merchant-poet. When he was thoroughly established in business, he undertook the issue of three other of Sylvester's essays in versified theology: *The third daye of the second weeke, the lawe conteyninge vocacion, and the captaynes* (12th Nov. 1605), *The ffourthe daye of this second weeke* (16th Dec. 1606), and *Automachia, or the self-conflict of a Christian* (19th Dec. 1606). But again he failed to launch these leaden volumes and probably saw, without much misgiving, a

neighbouring publisher, Humphrey Lownes the elder, publish all four in 1613 or 1614.

Blount was seeking a robuster quarry and he now found it in John Florio, a tutor in foreign languages at Oxford, who, although of Italian origin, was a writer of nervous English and a welcome guest at the tables of cultivated noblemen. To Blount, Florio offered an Italian-English Dictionary, 'the fruits of many years' labour,' and Blount duly secured a licence for its publication on 22nd March 1596. It appeared in folio, in 1598, with the title 'A World of Words.' The venture was sufficiently successful to warrant Blount in issuing a new edition, revised and enlarged in 1611. Meanwhile Florio had entrusted to him the work by which he is best remembered—his classical English rendering of Montaigne's Essays. A translation had been licensed to Edward Aggas on 10th October 1595, but Blount secured a new licence on 4th June 1600, and the book—a substantial quarto—was on sale on his stall in 1603.

The conditions of the trade did not permit Blount to contribute substantially—if at all—to the support of authors. But in private life he was honestly interested in literature and was ambitious of social intercourse with its creators. He had made the acquaintance of Christopher Marlowe, the dramatist, in some non-professional capacity, before Marlowe's unhappy death in 1593, and he resented the endeavours of prudish critics, in subsequent years, to defame his friend's work by exaggerating the defects of his moral character. Acting on his own responsibility, he published in 1598 Marlowe's unfinished *Hero and Leander*, and, under his own signature, he dedicated it to Sir Thomas Walsingham, Marlowe's generous patron.

His action in assuming the office of executor to 'the unhappily deceased author of this poem' he justified in impressive language: 'We think not ourselves discharged of the duty we owe to our friend when we have brought the breathless body to the earth; for, albeit the eye there taketh his last farewell of that beloved object, yet the impression of the man that hath been dear unto us, living an after-life in our memory, there putteth us in mind of farther obsequies due unto the deceased; and, namely, of the performance of whatsoever we may judge shall make to his living credit and to the effecting of his determinations prevented by the stroke of death.'

Blount's affectionate regard for Marlowe was commemorated in another manner in a second volume. Among his early friends was Thomas Thorpe, who was well known in the trade. Six years Blount's junior, he had become a freeman of the Stationers' Company on February 4th, 1594. But nine years passed before he opened a publishing warehouse. Meanwhile he devoted himself to the less hazardous occupation of procuring, as he could, books in manuscript, which he induced some friendly stationer, better equipped with business plant than himself, to convert into print and expose for sale. In 1600, Walter Burre, of the Flower de Luce in St. Paul's Churchyard, undertook, as Thorpe's agent, the publication of Marlowe's hitherto unprinted translation of the first book of Lucan. It was the custom in such operations for the procurer of the manuscript to supply the dedication. Thorpe half-jestingly chose Blount to be the patron of his edition of Marlowe's *Lucan*. He appears to have been genuinely attached to Blount, 'his kind and true friend,' and now genially reminded

him that, as he was playing the part of patron for the first time, 'some few instructions whereby he might' accommodate himself to the *rôle* would doubtless prove acceptable. There follow some amusing sarcasms at the expense of patrons of the ordinary type.

Blount proceeded with caution, and added few books to his stock before the end of Elizabeth's reign. In 1599 he issued *Paradoxes of Defence*, by an unknown man, George Silver, a large volume on fencing, which was elaborately dedicated to the Earl of Essex. Next year he produced two translations from the Italian by Englishmen whose names were not supplied. The first, *The Historie of the Vniting of the Kingdom of Portugal to the Crowne of Castile*, Blount himself dedicated to the Earl of Southampton. He described the book as 'the first-fruits of his long-growing endeavours.' The second venture was an experiment in satire from the Italian of Garzoni. The title-page ran, 'The Hospitall of Incurable Fooles: Erected in English, as neer the first Italian modell and platforme, as the vnskilfull hand of an ignorant Architect could deuise.' Bibliographers have suggested that the work was either from the pen of Thomas Nash or from that of the publisher. Neither suggestion can be supported by much argument. The only clue lies in the anonymous prefatory address—very laboured in its merriment—which 'Dame Folly, matron of the Hospitall,' is represented as speaking to Dame Fortune.

More literary interest attached to Blount's sole publication of 1601, the 4to volume entitled *Love's Martyr; or, Rosalin's Complaint*. The verse is obscure and unimpressive, but the closing pages are attractive. They supply 'some new

compositions of several modern Writers whose names are subscribed to their severall Workes.' One of these compositions, entitled 'A Poeticall Essaie on the Turtle and Phœnix,' is signed at length, William Shakespeare, and it has reappeared in all collected editions of Shakespeare's Works. Thus was Blount first associated, although not, it is to be feared, by mutual consent, with the most commanding figure of his generation.

With the reign of James I. the quantity of literature published by Blount began to vie with its quality. Just before the king's accession he acquired a fifteenth share in the royal author's *Basilicon Doron*, and paid the Stationers' Company the exceptionally high fee of 3s. 4d. when he registered his rights at their Hall. Almost as soon as the king had set foot in London Blount launched two poetic welcomes by eminent hands; the one was Samuel Daniel's *Panegyrike Congratulatory delivered to the King's Most Excellent Majesty*; the other B[en] Jon[son's] *Part of King James, His Royal and Magnificent Entertainment through his honourable citie of London.* In the same year he sought to extend his custom among the king's Scottish friends by sending forth two neatly-printed volumes of verse from the competent pen of William Alexander of Menstrie: *Aurora* and the *Tragedy of Darius*; these were followed in 1607 by a larger collection of the same author's *Monarchique Tragedies.* Nor were Blount's issues for the first year of the king's reign even then exhausted. He was in a patriotic temper, and before the year closed he put forth not only *A True History of the Memorable Siege of Ostend*, a thick 4to (with two well-engraved maps), translated from the French by a lawyer fond of such

laborious occupation, Edward Grimstone, but also a political essay by Sir William Cornwallis on a topic dear to the king's heart, *The Miraculous and Happie Union of England and Scotland.* Finally, Blount undertook in 1604 another fruit of the lawyer Grimstone's learned leisure, *The Natural and Moral History of East and West Indies*, from the Spanish of Joseph Acosta. Henceforth Spanish literature attracted much of Blount's attention.

Such activity doubtless reduced Blount's resources. At any rate, he deemed it wise to associate a neighbour, William Aspley, with himself in the last venture. And though its pecuniary results could not have been dazzling, Aspley was willing to join Blount soon afterwards in three similar undertakings. Samson Lennard was one of the numerous protégés of William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke. As a man of letters he could boast no higher characteristic than boundless industry. But Lennard's *Problemes of Beauty*, from the Italian of Buoni, and his *Of Wisdom*, from the French of Pierre Charron, were both printed for Blount and Aspley jointly in 1606, and the latter was enriched by an engraved title-page by William Hole. In the same year Blount brought to light *A Discourse of Civill Life, containing the Ethike Part of Moral Philosophie*, a prose translation from the Italian of Baptista Giraldo, by Ludovic Bryskett, the friend of Spenser and Sidney. The book, which was completed twenty years earlier, supplies an interesting account of a meeting in Ireland between Spenser and the translator, and a report taken from the poet's lips of the original plan of his great allegorical poem. Half the edition of 1606—the only one issued—bore Blount's imprint and half Aspley's.

Another publication of the same period, for which Blount was solely responsible, shows him in the conventional position of a purloiner of MSS. Robert Dallington, a member of Prince Henry's household, had, like Spenser, mislaid the unprinted essays of his youth. An autograph copy of a youthful account by him of a tour in Tuscany fell, without his knowledge, into Blount's hands. Blount, who deemed it unnecessary to acquaint the author with his design beforehand, published it in 1605 as *A Survey of the Great Duke's State of Tuscany in the Yeare of our Lord* 1596. He offered a half-serious apology for his boldness in a dedication addressed by himself to the author, and excused his conduct on the ground that, had he not 'presented it to the general view,' it was 'likely enough that some one that loves you not so well, nor knowes you at all, might' have printed it. Dallington was not displeased, and Blount obtained a licence in 1613 for the publication of Dallington's more ambitious folio *Aphorismes Civill and Militarie*, 'amplified with authorities, and exemplified with historie out of the first Quaterne of F. Guicciardine.'

But Blount was not content with the small beer of translation, even when brewed in the households of the aristocracy; he longed for the sparkling wine of original literature. Ben Jonson and Daniel had each entrusted him with one publication; he desired to be entrusted with more. In these efforts his success was not conspicuous. Though he obtained a licence for the publication of *Sejanus* on 7th November 1604, he assigned it next year to Thorpe, and although he announced to the Stationers' Company at a later period (October 2, 1623) that he had in hand a translation by Jonson of Barclay's

popular *Argenis*, the announcement bore no fruit. The only work that Blount procured of Daniel besides the *Panegyrike* was the *Tragedy of Philotas*, of which he purchased the licence for publication in 1604. But even in this instance, Daniel's regular publisher, Simon Waterson, produced the first edition in 1605, and Blount had to content himself with issuing in 1607 the second edition. To that edition, however, Daniel added an entertaining apology for indiscretions which had been detected in high quarters in its predecessor.

Next year saw a fresh development in Blount's business. Two apprentices were already in his service, Matthew Cooke, son of a small neighbouring stationer, Toby Cooke, who dwelt at the sign of the Tiger's Head, in St. Paul's Churchyard, and Giles Gore, son of Thomas Gore, a yeoman of Sherston Magna, Wiltshire. The latter disappears early: the former won his freedom in 1605 after nine years' apprenticeship; obtained a little business as the publisher of Joseph Hall's *Points of Religion*, and similar compositions, and died young in 1616. Blount's trade had then grown to respectable dimensions, but for the first thirteen years—from 1594 to 1607—that he had pursued it, he had occupied an insignificant shop over against the great north door of St. Paul's Cathedral. The premises consisted of little more than an open stall. In 1608, however, his transactions had grown large enough to warrant his removal to a more imposing edifice. In that year he set up his sign at the Black Bear, in St. Paul's Churchyard.

The Black Bear had long been in the occupation of publishers, and had very respectable traditions. There had lived Thomas Woodcock, one of the master printers, and a chief sharer in the issue of

Holinshed's *Chronicles*, the largest publishing enterprise of the age. In 1595 Woodcock either died or retired, and he was succeeded at the Black Bear by Paul Linley, whose acquaintance Blount had made when they were both apprentices with Ponsonby. In defiance of the rules of the Company, Linley had associated with himself a draper named John Flasket. In the summer of 1600 he died, without having enjoyed much opportunity of making way in his vocation. Thereupon Flasket secured his freedom as a stationer (June 3, 1600), and Linley's stock was assigned to him. Flasket opened his independent career at the Black Bear by a notable venture, the publication of the most delightful of all Elizabethan anthologies, *England's Helicon*. He pursued his labours for some eight years; until the autumn of 1607, when he purchased a licence for Drayton's *Legend of Great Cromwell*.

Blount's settlement in 1608 in these well-seasoned premises was followed by his temporary acceptance of a new partner, William Barrett, who had taken up his freedom three years before (Jan. 21, 1606). The partnership produced no startling results. Their largest joint production was a very stout duodecimo, *An Exhortatory Instruction to a Speedy Resolution of Repentance, and Contempt of the Vanities of this Transitory Life*, by Blount's industrious author, Lennard. The firm, Blount & Barrett, chiefly dealt in ephemeral pamphlets, and although they purchased a licence for Coryat's *Crudities* on 26th November 1610, that eccentric volume appeared in 1611 with the name of William Stansby, the printer, alone upon the title-page. They issued jointly, however, in 1613, a second edition of Florio's *Montaigne* and a new edition of Marlowe's *Hero and Leander*. Before

the end of the same year, the partnership was dissolved.

Blount's literary taste was always catholic, and, doubtful of reaping a large harvest out of the products of native genius, he scanned with eagerness the literature of foreign lands. In 1605 the first part of *Don Quixote* appeared at Lisbon; the second proceeded from Madrid ten years later. Blount had no hesitation in presenting his readers with the romance in an English dress. As early as 1606, Thomas Shelton began work on his famous rendering. On January 19, 1611, Blount, while still in partnership with Barrett, entered on the Stationers' Register 'A booke called The Delightfull History of the Witty Knighte Don Quishote,' and on December 5, 1616, he, in his sole name, obtained a licence for the second part.

The first part was issued by Blount in an undated 8vo,—doubtless 1612,—and he embellished it with a steel-engraved frontispiece depicting the Don and Sancho. In 1620 he sent forth the second part with a dated title-page and a characteristic dedication addressed by himself to the Marquis of Buckingham. He presented the book to his Lordship 'as a Bashful Stranger newly arrived in English, which originally had the fortune to be born, commended to a grande of Spain, and by the way of translation, grace to kiss the hands of a great lady of France.' Blount adds that his aim now was 'to sweeten those short starts' of his patron's retirement from public affairs which distressed his admirers.

From the first the book was popular, and thenceforth Blount gave a free rein to his predilection for the Spanish language and literature. In 1622 he brought out *A Grammar, Spanish and English*, translated from the original of Cæsar Oudin, by

I. W[adsworth]. Next year he superintended the passage through the press of James Mabbe's rendering of Matteo Aleman's *Rogue, or the Life of Guzman de Alfarache* (in two parts)—one of the most brilliant of the many imitations of Cervantes. At the same time he undertook the larger enterprise of a new edition of Percival's *Spanish-English Dictionary*, revised by the competent hand of John Minsheu. He has been credited, too, with translating, on his own account, from the Spanish, the volume entitled *Christian Policie, or the Christian Commonwealth*, which Richard Collins published for him in 1632, the last year of his life.

Until Blount's career reached its full height, he achieved no eminent success as a publisher of dramatic literature. *Sir Gyles Goosecappe, Knight*, 'a comedy presented by the children of the chappell, at London,' was printed by John Windet for him in 1606, and *Nero* and *Vertumnus*, two Latin plays by Matthew Gwinne, the friend of Florio, appeared under his auspices in 1603 and 1605 respectively. But most of his dramatic ventures went astray. On May 20, 1608, he had received a licence for 'The Book of Pericles, Prince of Tyre,' but the original edition was published by Henry Gosson in 1609. He had like authority to produce Cyril Tourneur's 'Play Booke, being a Tragedi-Comedy called a noble man' (Feb. 15th, 1612), but the only surviving copy was destroyed by John Warburton's cook about 1754, and the publisher's name upon it is beyond the process of verification. On the same day he undertook to issue a play entitled 'The Twynnes Tragedie,' by Richard Niccols, the final editor of the *Mirror for Magistrates*, but no copy is known. Beaumont and Fletcher's *King and no King*, which had been first acted at Court

in 1611, was licensed to Blount on August 17th, 1618, but no extant edition bears his name as publisher. In 1623, however, Blount outdistanced all rival publishers of the drama by taking a foremost share in the first publication of a complete edition of Shakespeare's works. This great venture involved a larger expenditure than his own capital would bear. He therefore associated with himself, in the operation, one Isaac Jaggard, and the printing was executed at the charges of himself in conjunction with William Jaggard, John Smethwicke, and his earliest partner, William Aspley.

The largest contributors to the enterprise after Blount were doubtless William and Isaac Jaggard, who were printers as well as publishers. The Jaggard family played a prominent part in the trade. Its most respected member was John, whose shop was in Fleet Street at The Hand and Star. For nearly thirty years, from 1592 to 1622, he directed a very steady business concern, and he was admitted to the livery of the Stationers' Company in 1602, and to the Court of Assistants in 1612. But John's elder brother William attracted wider attention. After serving an apprenticeship to Henry Denham, an eminent printer, he was made free of the Company, December 6, 1591. His first adventure was undertaken, as in Thorpe's career, in the character of 'middleman.' In 1599, having collected, without authority, a number of poems by different authors, and giving them the general title of *The Passionate Pilgrim*, by W. Shakespeare, he induced William Leake to sell the volume at his shop, The Greyhound, in St. Paul's Churchyard. The public approved Jaggard's piracies, and two editions followed. Of the second no copy is extant. In the third edition Jaggard

included, under the same general title, some lately published poems by Thomas Heywood. Heywood, in his *Actor's Apology*, expressed his indignation, and informed his readers that Shakespeare 'was much offended with M. Jaggard, that altogether unknown to him presumed to make so bold with his name.' But Jaggard, so far from being moved by the reproof, desired further dealings with the works of the offended author. In 1611 he had become printer to the City of London, and had established himself in Fleet Street at the east end of St. Dunstan's Church. In October 1613 he greatly extended his business by purchasing the stock and rights of James Roberts, who had printed many of Shakespeare's plays, including editions of both *The Merchant of Venice* and *Midsummer Night's Dream* in 1600, and the complete quarto of *Hamlet* in 1604. Roberts also transferred to Jaggard the right to print and publish 'the players' bills,' a privilege which Roberts had exercised since 1594, when he had purchased it of John Charlwood. Jaggard was thus brought into intimate relations with the managers of playhouses, the owners of the dramatists' MSS. William, like his brother John, retired from active life in 1622, and handed over his bookselling and publishing business, with the right to produce 'the players' bills,' to his son Isaac. But his interest in Isaac's transactions was acute, and he advanced the chief part of the capital for the great Shakespeare folio.

Of Blount's two other partners, Aspley and Smethwicke, each had enjoyed a larger connection with Shakespeare's published work than himself. Aspley had published in 1600 (with Andrew Wise) the second part of *Henry IV.* and

Much Ado About Nothing, and in 1609 one of the two editions of the *Sonnets* which Thorpe had projected. Smethwicke, from his shop in St. Dunstan's Churchyard, in Fleet Street, under the Dyall, had sent forth two late editions of *Romeo and Juliet* (one in 1609 and another without date about 1611) and an edition of *Hamlet* in 1611.

It is reasonable to allow Blount the credit of first perceiving the advantage of collecting in a single folio Shakespeare's scattered plays. But Isaac Jaggard's relations with the theatrical managers, as the authorised printer and publisher of the bills of the play, doubtless gave the partners the opportunity of giving effect to their design. From the managers of the Blackfriars Theatre Blount and Isaac claim to have derived MS. copies of all Shakespeare's dramas, and on November 8, 1623, they obtained a licence for the publication of sixteen of the plays, which 'had not formerly been entered to other men,' and had not hitherto been printed. This list—a document of the rarest interest in literary annals—included eight comedies, *The Tempest*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Measure for Measure*, *Comedy of Errors*, *As You Like It*, *All's Well*, *Twelfth Night*, *Winter's Tale*; the third part of *Henry VI.* and *Henry VIII.* among histories; with the six tragedies, *Coriolanus*, *Timon of Athens*, *Julius Cæsar*, *Macbeth*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, and *Cymbeline*. Of the other plays by Shakespeare, nineteen had been published in quarto in his lifetime, and *Othello* had followed posthumously in 1622. But Blount and his partner asserted that when preparing their 'first folio,' they printed these twenty published pieces, like the sixteen unpublished plays, from the playhouse copies in their hands. They protested with every affectation of scrupulous

virtue that the early quartos were 'divers stolen and surreptitious copies maimed and deformed by the frauds and stealths of the injurious impostors that exposed them,' and the title-page described all the pieces as 'published according to the true and original copies.' But their assertion that recourse had been had in every case to the author's uncorrupted and unblotted manuscripts cannot be wholly accepted. They followed the quarto texts very literally at times; nor did they perceive that, often where they ignored the quartos, the MSS. lent them by the actors were of inferior authenticity to those followed in the already printed editions. For example, in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, and *Richard the Second* the folio was printed from a far less satisfactory copy than that followed in the earlier quartos. On the other hand, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, which had only appeared hitherto in a garbled version of 1602, was presented in the folio in a wholly new and satisfactory shape.

When the volume was finally issued at the close of 1623, it included in all thirty-six plays; of pieces previously printed *Pericles* was omitted. Although *The Taming of the Shrew* was hitherto unpublished, and was omitted from the list of unpublished pieces submitted to the Stationers' Company on 8th November, that comedy found a place in the folio. The volume reached nearly 1000 double-columned pages, and was sold at the high price of a pound.

Shakespeare's friends and fellow-actors, John Hemming and Henry Condell, sign both the well-known dedication to the Earls of Pembroke and Montgomery and the prefatory address 'to the great variety of readers,' but neither of them enjoyed any literary experience, and Blount's voice

can often be heard speaking in their name. He had already, in 1607, challenged the attention of the same patrons by dedicating to them, in an address of his own composition, his *Ars Aulica, or the Courtiers' Art*; while he had published only a year before a translation, by his constant ally, Leonard Digges, of a Spanish novel entitled *Gerardo, the Unfortunate Spaniard*, by G. de Cespedes y Meneses, which was dedicated to the same 'pair of noble brethren.' Blount avowedly inspired the appeal of Hemming and Condell, 'Read and censure the volume, but buy it first; that doth best commend a book, the stationer says.' Blount, too, was doubtless responsible for the appearance of Leonard Digges among the authors of the prefatory verses. Besides the Spanish novel of 1622, he had published in 1617 Digges's verse translation of Claudian's *Rape of Proserpine*.

In the overseeing of the text—a most important service in so large an undertaking—Blount, as was his custom, doubtless played a foremost part. In many of his books there are long lists of 'errors escaped in printing,' and in more than one instance he signs with his own name an exculpatory address from 'the printer to the reader.' In his edition of *The Rogue, or the Life of Guzman d'Alfarache*, 1623, he asks the discreet and curious reader to spare him a minute to be heard in a line or two for himself. He is anxious that his own faults should not be laid on the shoulders of author or translator. In Arthur Gorges's rendering of Lucan's *Pharsalia*, 1614, Blount writes in the same conscientious spirit: 'That which no impressions have ever been free from, it were now needless for me to excuse. I mean the faults escaped in the printing,' and he sets down the errata with page

and line specified, so that they may be amended with the greater ease.

As far as any rights in the great folio were legally vested in one man's hands, Blount alone seems to have been regarded as their owner. When Isaac Jaggard died in the early summer of 1627, his widow, Dorothy, made over his business-property — in all twenty-four publications — to the stationers, Richard and Thomas Cotes. Among the items were 'the players' bills,' and the right to produce them; but none of Shakespeare's works are mentioned. The sixteen pieces which Blount and Jaggard had first given to the reading public, Blount exclusively controlled, and in 1630 he made them over to the stationer, Robert Allot. The second Shakespeare folio of 1632 was printed for Allot by Thomas Cotes.

It was not possible for Blount to repeat so weighty an achievement, but he strove to the last to associate himself with enterprises of dignity. In 1628 he put forth two editions of an anonymous volume entitled *Micro-Cosmographie, or a Peece of the World discovered; in Essays and Characters.* London, printed by William Stansby for Edward Blount, 1628. How large and how exclusive was his own responsibility in bringing to birth this witty collection of pregnant essays from the pen of John Earle may best be learned from his own prefatory address 'To the reader, gentile or gentle.'

'I haue (for once) aduentur'd to playe the Mid-wife's part, helping to bring forth these Infants into the World, which the Father would have smoothered: who hauing left them lapt vp in loose Sheets, as soon as his Fancy was deliuered of them; written especially for his private Recreation, to passe away the time in the Country, and by the forcible request of Friends drawne from him. Yet passing seuerally from hand to hand in written Copies, grew at length to be a prety number in a litele Volume, and among so

many sundry dispersed Transcripts, some very imperfect and surreptitious had like to haue past the Presse, if the Author had not vsed speedy meanes of preuention: When perceiuing the hazard hee ran to be wrong'd, was vnwillingly willing to let them passe as now they appeare to the World.'

But Blount was growing old and was reluctant to burden himself with much further business. Popular and successful as was Earle's *Micro-Cosmographie*, Blount assigned his interest in it to Allot within a few months of the issue of the first edition. But he soon found another and a last opportunity of doing service to literature. He had come across the manuscript of six of the plays of John Lyly, the author of *Euphues*. They had all been published in the author's lifetime between 1584 and 1594, and a reprint of *Mother Bombie* had appeared as late as 1598. On 9th Jan. 1627-28 he obtained a licence for the issue of 'Sixe pleyes by Peter (*sic*) Lillyes, to be printed in one volume, viz.;—*Campaspe*, *Sapho and Phao*, *Galathea*, *Endimion*, *Midas*, and *Mother Bomby*.' In 1632 the work appeared under the title: 'Sixe Court Comedies, often presented and acted before Queene Elizabeth, by the Children of her Majesties Chappell, and the Children of Paules. Written by the onely rare poet of that time, the wittie, the comicall, facetiously-quicke and vnparalleld John Lilly, Master of Arts. *Decies repetita placebunt*. London: Printed by William Stansby, for Edward Blount 1632.' The two remaining plays by Lyly Blount did not reprint, viz., *The Woman in the Moon*, 1597, and *Love's Metamorphosis*, 1601.

With exceptional generosity Blount prepared for this volume with his own pen, not only the title-page, but two prefaces,—a dedication to Viscount

Lumley of Waterford, and an address to the reader. In the dedication, Blount tries to imitate the style of *Euphues*. 'The spring is at hand,' he tells his patron, 'and therefore I present you a lily growing in a grove of laurels.' The six plays he calls 'six ingots of refined invention richer than gold.' In turning to the reader, he grows more businesslike, and supplies some interesting information. 'For the love he bears posterity, he has dug up the grave of a rare and excellent poet whom Queen Elizabeth heard, graced, and rewarded.' These papers of Lyly (he points out) lay like dead laurels in a churchyard, 'but I have gathered the scattered branches up, and, by a charm gotten from Apollo, made them green again and set them up as epitaphs to his memory.' The 'charm gotten from Apollo' had a genuine significance. The previously printed copies of Lyly's plays, unlike Blount's collection, lacked the lyrics. Blount was the first to make the world acquainted with such lyric masterpieces as 'Cupid and my Campaspe played,' in *Campaspe* and the fairy choruses in *Endymion*. Nearly fifty years had elapsed since the plays were penned, and doubts have been raised whether Lyly were really the author of the lyrical embellishments with which Blount enriched his work. Nor did Blount do less to perpetuate Lyly's fame by insisting on the sensation that Lyly's *Euphues* had made in its own day. His description of the contemporary reception accorded to that work is a *locus classicus* in English literary history. 'Our nation (Blount wrote) are in his (*i.e.* Lyly's) debt for a new English which he taught them. *Euphues and his England* began first, that language: All our Ladies were then his Schollers; And that Beautie in Court, which could not Parley Euphue-

isme, was as litle regarded; as shee which, now there, speakes not French.'

The last trace of Blount's activity must be assigned to December 1631. In that month he obtained licences for three books: for two on 8th December, entitled respectively, *Military Rules*, by Lewis Melzo, Knight of the Order of Malta, and *The Government of the Light Horse*, by George Basta, 'an Earl of the Sacred Empire, in Hurst and Marmoras.' Finally, on 30th December, he obtained a licence for a sermon by William Crompton, Puritan lecturer at Barnstaple, entitled *A wedding-ring fitted to the finger of every paire.* Alone of the three works the last named seems to have duly appeared. But, in 1632, when that pious lucubration had reached the public's hands, Blount had doubtless joined the majority. On 20th July 1633, his widow surrendered to the author a translation by his old friend, Grimstone, of 'the history of the Serrail (seraglio) of the Court . . . of the Turks.' Blount had undertaken to publish it early in 1632, but death had anticipated his design. William Stansby secured a new licence for it, 3rd September 1633. The final extant notice of Blount or of his widow, is dated 3rd October 1636. On that day Mrs. Blount made over to Andrew Crooke her late husband's share (a twelfth part) of Camden's *Britannia*, which was originally produced by a syndicate of stationers.

The chief moral to be drawn from Blount's busy career cannot commend itself to the literary profession. It is true that his private relations with many authors were friendly, and that he was publicly associated with some of the literary masterpieces of the age. But one cannot forget that most of his publications were undertaken without the writer's

supervision,—often even without his knowledge, and at times in actual defiance of his wishes. The customs which regulated the conduct of the trade in his day sanctioned such procedure. And if Blount's career proves anything, it proves that conditions of publishing which habitually ignore authors' wishes and authors' rights are compatible with the fullest exercise of literary energy and with the production of literature of commanding merit.

SIDNEY LEE.

ADDENDA

THE BOOKSELLERS AT THE SIGN OF THE TRINITY.—A very interesting discovery has lately been made in Lord Crawford's Library at Haigh Hall, by Mr. Edmond, the librarian, which enables me to add another book to the list of those printed by Pelgrim and Jacobi, the first booksellers at the sign of the Trinity.

Ortus vocabulorum. J Barbier for J. Pelgrim. Paris, 1504. 4to. Collation, not known.

Colophon: Adest studiosissimi lectores opusculi fi- | nis : quod nō minus preceptoribus (ut voca | bulo2ꝝ significatoines (*sic*) memorie cōmendāt | q̄3 scolasticis : ceterisq3 studiosis eas igno- | rantibus conducet : omniū enim vocabulo2ꝝ | significationes quem in Catholicon : Bre- | uiloquo cornu-copia : aut Medulla grāma | tice ponūtur cōtinet. Quum igitur summa | diligentia sit collectum : vigilantiq3 studio | correctum ut magis in lucem prodiret ip̄m | a viris studiosis comparandum esse constat | Per virum autē laudabilem ac civem proui | dum Judocū Pelgrim prope celeberrimaz | diui Pauli apostoli ecclesiam cōmorantem. Impressum Parrhisiis per Johānem Bar- | bier Jmpressorez. Anno incarnationis dn̄i- | nice. M.ccccc. Quarto. iii. Nōn Septēbris.

*** Known only from fragments, consisting of sheets AA, BB, FF and gg, used to line the binding of a Lyndewode printed for Pelgrim and Jacobi in 1505-6. E. GORDON DUFF.

EARLY REPRESENTATIONS OF THE PRINTING-PRESS.—A Paper on this subject in Part II. of *Bibliographica* has evoked some correspondence, by the help of which a few notes and additions may be given by way of supplement.

The *Penny Magazine* is not quite the only place where Stradanus's picture has been reproduced. It is found also, but not in facsimile, in Mr. Robert Falkner's *A Little Gossip about Printing* (Manchester, 1887, 12°).

Three new representations of the Press before 1600 have come to light, dated 1518, 1548, and 1593, bringing the total number of representations during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to twenty-seven.

3* 1518. In the *Pappa Puerorum* of Mur-

1518. DEVENTER

mellius, a Latin-Dutch glossary, printed at Deventer by Thierry de Borne in 1518, a cut of a press occurs on the last page as the special mark of the printer. On the (true) right are a compositor at his work, an assistant with ink-balls, and on the floor a large can. The centre is occupied by a printer and a

press, with straight bar, and already showing the handle by which the form is run in and out. On the left, near an open window, is a man holding a printed sheet, showing four pages printed on one side. In the centre of the upper part is a scroll bearing the printer's monogram between T. B.

12* 1548. On fol. 23 of vol. i. of Johann Stumpff's Swiss Chronicle, printed at Zürich, by

1548. ZURICH

Christopher Froschover in 1548, there is a cut of a press, which is especially interesting as having formed the model on which was based the 1568 engraving—which has hitherto always been quoted as the first scientific and satisfactory representation of the actual working of the machine. Every word of the description of the latter will apply to the

former, although there are many unimportant differences, of which perhaps the most obvious are that the word SCHEFFER is engraved perpendicularly on the press itself, and that the windows in the background are in 1568 under a single arch, and in 1548 under a double arch. The instruments in 1548 do not hang on the press, but rest on a cross-beam above the screw. The platen is exceptionally large. I owe my knowledge of this interesting engraving to Mr. Frederick Clark of Ormond House, Wimbledon.

23* 1538. In this year the *Historie ende geschiedenisse . . . Chr. Fabricii ende Oliv. Bockij*, was printed at Haarlem by Gilles Rooman for Corn. Claesz at Amsterdam, and on the title-page is an oval band surrounded by ornament, bearing the words 'Gene. 3.19. Int sweet ws aensichts sul di u broot eten.' Within the oval is a small representation of a printing-press, which is not like any of the others which bear a similar motto. The usual three figures occur, but the printer is on the (true) left of the press, and the bar, which is curved at the end near the press, is on a level with his head, and grasped by one hand only. The smallness of the engraving prevents the details from being clear. (This device is reproduced in the *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 1st Series (1880-90), vol. 12, H. 145 = *Marques typographiques* (1894) vol. 1, Haarlem, Rooman, No. 2).

FALCONER MADAN.

RAOUL LEFÈVRE AND LE RECUEIL DES HISTOIRES DE TROYES.—A few words of welcome to Dr. Sommer's edition of Caxton's *Recuyell* (David Nutt) may form an appropriate 'addendum' to the article in Part 1., in which Dr. Sommer success-

fully vindicated the claims of Raoul Lefèvre to the authorship of Caxton's original. Dr. Sommer's reprint of the first English printed book is marked by the industry and thoroughness which we have learnt to expect in his work, and the long Introduction in which he treats of the development of the Troy-Legend, the manuscripts of the French *Recueil*, and the question of its authorship, and the history and bibliography of Caxton's English version, is both well arranged and lucidly expressed. The only fault that can be found is that the tedium of transcription and proof-reading (the labour of which in so long a work must have been enormous) seems to have put the editor into rather an ill-temper with his text. He certainly underrates Caxton's merits as a prose-writer, and is very severe on the slips in translation (some of them curious enough), for which the absence of dictionaries is in itself almost sufficient excuse. In an interesting list of misprints he is also occasionally unjust to Caxton as a printer: *e.g. be* for *by* is common enough in Middle-English, and not due to an oversight; and *welehe*, on p. 10, l. 18, is not a case of the insertion of a superfluous letter (the second *e*), but should be read as two words *wele he*. A more important point is raised by the list of cases 'where *m* has been put for *in*.' Undoubtedly some early printers, *e.g.* Frisner and Sensenschmidt, in the German Bible printed at Nuremberg about 1475, used a contraction for *in*, which is indistinguishable from *m*, and Caxton seems to have done the same. In longer words we might imagine a printer to have misread his copy, but in the preposition *in*, standing by itself, it is impossible to conceive any mistake. The contraction should be added to Mr. Blades's list of those used by Caxton. If, however,

Dr. Sommer is inclined rather to magnify than to excuse his author's shortcomings, he has himself, as has been said, spared no pains to reproduce his work, page for page, line for line, and letter for letter, with admirable fidelity. His edition is in two handsome volumes, clearly printed and pleasant in the hand, and we may hope that some day, when the memory of his toils has faded away, he may himself take up the book and find that Caxton's English has greater charms than he has at present discovered *in it.*

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